

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST TAKE- OVER AND OCCUPATION OF THE NON- RUSSIAN NATIONS OF THE U. S. S. R.

EIGHTH INTERIM REPORT OF
HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
SELECT COMMITTEE ON COMMUNIST
AGGRESSION
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION
UNDER AUTHORITY OF
H. Res. 346 and H. Res. 438

MUNICH, GERMANY
JUNE 30 AND JULY 1, 1954
NEW YORK, N. Y.
OCTOBER 11, 12, 13, AND 14, 1954
CHICAGO, ILL.
OCTOBER 18 AND 19, 1954

Printed for the use of the Select Committee on Communist Aggression



UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1954

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PREFACE

This is the eighth interim report of the Committee on Communist Aggression (formerly the House Baltic Committee), consisting of testimony taken at hearings in Munich, Germany, on June 30 and July 1, in New York City on October 11, 12, 13, and 14, and in Chicago, Ill., on October 18 and 19.

The testimony taken at these hearings was devoted to the Communist takeover and occupation of the non-Russian nations of the U. S. S. R. The hearings in Munich, Germany, were a part of the overall inquiry of Communist aggression undertaken by the committee. The hearings in New York City and Chicago, Ill., were conducted by subcommittees created for that particular purpose. Congressman Michael A. Feighan served as chairman for the New York hearings and Congressman Fred E. Busbey served as chairman for the Chicago hearings.

Among the witnesses appearing before the committee were former nationals of the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union, including Byelorussia, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, Idel Ural, North Caucasia and Cossackia. They included people who represented every walk of life from former ministerial officers of these once free and independent non-Russian nations to ordinary peasants. Several distinguished American scholars, long recognized as experts on this subject, also appeared as witnesses.

The former nationals of these once independent nations gave eyewitness testimony on the pattern of Communist aggression and seizure of nations engaged in by the Kremlin shortly after the Bolsheviks seized power and created the Russian Federated Soviet Socialist Republic. This pattern, which began to develop as early as 1918, was in most important respects identical with that used by the Kremlin to seize and occupy the Baltic States, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, and other nations during and following World War II. The technique included formal recognition by the Russian Federated Soviet Socialist Republic of the independence of those non-Russian nations, the use of solemn treaties as devices to conquer those nations, the employment of subversive agents acting as an advance guard, and military aggression and invasion without formal declaration of war.

It was in these nations that the Communist techniques for subverting nations and holding them in ruthless colonial bondage were developed and in large degree perfected. They began with the liquidation of the intelligentsia of each of these non-Russian nations, then moved to the collectivization of all phases of life and concluded the cycle by establishing the absolute police state in which no one, including the masters themselves, is safe from arrest. Along the way the Communists attained perfection in performing all the major crimes against humanity, including: arrest without cause in the dead of night, torture chambers, mass deportations without trial to the barren

regions of Siberia, extermination camps, transfers of whole populations, manmade famines, wholesale massacres, and genocide.

The committee heard evidence about the manmade famine in Ukraine, in 1932-33, at a time when the harvests were better than average. Estimates were given that between 5 million and 7 million Ukrainians were put to death by starvation under a plan established by the madmen in the Kremlin.

Other witnesses told of the systematic destruction of all religion—Protestant, Orthodox, Catholic, Jewish, and Moslem. The clergy were the first to be eliminated, then the active laity, then the churches and mosques were converted into stables and granaries, and finally the children were taught to ridicule and inform on their parents if they mentioned God or religion. Any organized religion allowed to exist within the U. S. S. R. is completely subservient to communism. In addition the masters of the Kremlin have gone to elaborate ends in an effort to infiltrate, confuse, and control organized religion in the free world.

Other witnesses testified concerning their personal experiences in the dreaded slave labor camps of the U. S. S. R., the efforts of the Communists to destroy advanced cultures and languages which have survived the centuries, and the silent but heroic struggles of whole nations of people against the foreign occupation of communism. The terrible story of the Vinnitsa massacre where close to 10,000 people were killed after unbelievable tortures was related by people who witnessed the exhumations of the victims from mass graves in 1943.

One witness, commenting on the success of the Communists in concealing many of their most heinous crimes from the free world, told how Edouard Herriot, the French statesman, was used to refute claims that a famine was raging in Ukraine in 1932-33. This witness saw with his own eyes the careful preparations made for Herriot's visit to Ukraine, his actual conducted tour of Kharkiv where the main street was made to look prosperous—with plenty of bread available in the stores, while only one block away the starving peasants were held in check by the police. Still another witness told how he was compelled by the NKVD to participate in a staged performance of prosperity for the benefit of some foreigners on a conducted tour of the U. S. S. R. A railway station along the route of the travelers was the scene of this play, the characters in the play were either NKVD agents or local townfolks indentured for the performance. A wide variety of rare foods and drinks were put on display and marked with prices 20 times less than their actual cost would have been if such foods and drinks were ever made available to the people. The foreign visitors were none the wiser of the performance being staged for their benefit and went away pleasantly surprised at the prosperity created by Communist planning.

The testimony which follows represents more than a basement window on the forbidden colonial empire of the Soviet Union. More than anything else it is a picture window on the enslaved non-Russian nations; the character and aspirations of their people, their struggles for freedom and the birthright of national independence, their suffer-

ings at the hands of the Communist central authority headquartered in the Kremlin at Moscow, the capital of the Russian Federated Soviet Socialist Republic.

The witnesses who participated in these hearings have made a major contribution for a better understanding of the nations and peoples of the U. S. S. R., the vast majority of whom, according to sworn testimony, are the greatest enemies of the Communist conspiracy.



INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST TAKEOVER AND OCCUPATION OF THE NON-RUSSIAN NATIONS OF THE U. S. S. R.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 30, 1954

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
COMMUNIST AGGRESSION AND THE
FORCED INCORPORATION OF THE BALTIC
STATES INTO THE U. S. S. R.,
Munich, Germany.

The committee reconvened in open session at 10:10 a. m. in the conference room, American Consulate General Building, Munich, Germany, Hon. Charles J. Kersten, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Messrs. Kersten, Busbey, Norblad, Bonin, Machrowicz, and Feighan.

Also present: Mr. James J. McTigue, chief counsel.

Mr. KERSTEN. Hearings will come to order.

We will now hear testimony from a series of witnesses on the subject of Communist aggression against the non-Russian nations of the U. S. S. R. Mr. Counsel, will you please call the first witness?

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Pelenskyj, will you please come forward?

TESTIMONY OF ZENON PELENSKYJ

(Zenon Pelenskyj, a Ukrainian national, was called as a witness, was sworn, and testified as follows:)

Mr. McTIGUE. You are going to speak in English, aren't you?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Yes.

Andrew Diakun, the Ukrainian interpreter, was sworn.

Mr. McTIGUE. Will you state your full name for the record.

Mr. PELENSKYJ. My name is Zenon Pelenskyj.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you born, Mr. Pelenskyj?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. I was born 1902 in the small village of Tulyohovy in the county of Rudki, in Galicia. In 1918 it was under the Austrian Empire and from 1919 to 1939 it was under Poland.

Mr. McTIGUE. Will you give the committee a brief statement of your background?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. My parents had been schoolteachers, both my father and my mother. I completed high school, or gymnasium, as we say, and then I became a student at the University of Berlin. I studied history, economics, and politics. I also attended an institute for journalism for 3 years. Then I became a professional journalist and was practically from 1929 or 1930 until the outbreak of the Sec-

ond World War in 1939 a journalist, the chief editor of various Ukrainian weeklies and dailies. Shortly before the Second World War for the last 2 years I was chief editor of a Ukrainian newspaper in Lvov in Galicia. The name of the newspaper was *Novyj Czas*.

Mr. McTIGUE. You are presently located here in Munich?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. I am presently located here in Munich.

Mr. McTIGUE. Do you know of a village in the Ukraine bearing the name of Vinnitsa?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Yes; I do, sir. It is not a village, but a town. It is the center of the so-called district of Vinnitsa, or better to say Province of Vinnitsa. This town, as I know, had in prewar times 90,000 inhabitants.

Mr. McTIGUE. In what part of Ukraine is Vinnitsa located?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. This district was bordering during prewar times on Poland.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did there come a time in 1943 when you had the occasion to go to Vinnitsa?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Yes, I have. I would like to explain briefly, gentlemen, my personal situation, how it was I went to Vinnitsa. I am a journalist but in the prewar time I constantly assailed Bolishevism from the first day I started in the journalistic world. Shortly in the prewar time, 1938, I wrote a book, *The Policy of Ukraine Democracy*, in which I wrote about life under the Hitler regime. I warned my Ukrainian copatriots not to trust Hitler because he claimed they needed, as the German saying runs, "*Raum ohne Volk*." It means "space without people," so in 1939 the famous Molotov-Ribbentrop deal became active. I had to fear the Bolsheviks as well as the Nazis. Then, in 1939, the Bolsheviks had occupied this part, the eastern part of Poland, Galicia, and I fled to the west. It was very helpful to me that I know the German language. I had to submerge, so I became an accountant in a sugar factory in Poland first, then in Ukraine, so that is how I was in 1933 in Vinnitsa. Vinnitsa was a big sugar center in Ukraine. They had constructed some 37 sugar factories, I had occasion to go around the country and speak to the people so I was just living, as far as I remember, from April 1943 to September 1943 in Vinnitsa.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now, Mr. Pelenskyj, can you tell us what happened at that time so far as Vinnitsa was concerned, and as far as you personally were concerned?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Yes. At the end of May, approximately or the beginning of June 1943, there spread a rumor throughout Vinnitsa that some mass graves had been found, in the western part of Ukraine, in the town of Lityn. Some 1½ kilometers from the town on the north edge of a highway there was an orchard and rumors claimed that in this orchard there had been found mass graves.

The NKVD has appropriated this orchard from somebody and fenced it in with a high fence. It was a fence nearly 3 meters high—that would be some 9 feet approximately, and there were rumors that behind this fence in the orchard some dreadful things had happened. Of course, you have to take into account, gentlemen, how it looked during the Bolshevik occupation. People talked about it only in a low whisper, and about this place there was almost—to say it in English—superstition, fear about this place. Now in 1941 there broke out the German-Russian War. The Germans occupied the dis-

trict of Vinnitsa in July 1941. But no one bothered very much about this orchard. It was fenced in still. But in the winter of 1941, 1942 it was a very cold winter in Europe at that time, the population began to take apart this fence piece by piece and board by board. They used it for burning wood. Soon in the spring of 1942 there was no more fence, there was only an orchard. The population warned the German authorities about their suspicions concerning this orchard but the Germans didn't pay very much attention at first. So 1942 passed and then the beginning of 1943—I believe the first man who convinced the Germans on Vinnitsa, that it might be of interest to investigate this orchard more closely, was Professor Dr. Doroshenko. He was a court physician and this Dr. Doroshenko got the permission from the town commissar, the German town commissar, to make the first diggings. I am not quite sure this part was so as I am telling you, gentlemen, as I am only accounting what I have heard from the population. Now he got this permission and started to dig. I think he came to the idea that there might be something wrong, that there might be some mass graves. Dr. Doroshenko went to this orchard.

It was very symmetrical, with quite a few depressions, but very regular depressions, and he started to dig in these depressions and about 2 meters deep he found these people—a layer of clothes and beneath these clothes a layer of 2 or even 3 corpses. He dug up one, a second and a third and maybe a fourth grave, and all these graves had shown a pattern, a plan, these graves ran in one direction. They had been made after a plan. It was a sordid example of communistic systematic planning, I might say. At last, after some 2½ months, they dug up in this orchard 38 graves.

Mr. McTIGUE. Thirty-eight mass graves?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Thirty-eight such graves, from my memory and personal observation and also from the German documents I found later after the war. I reconstructed a plan of this orchard and here I would like to submit this plan to you, gentlemen. You might like to see the way it actually was.

Mr. McTIGUE. Have you yet given for the record the number of corpses which were found in these 38 graves?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. I can only ascertain what I have seen myself with my own eyes and I went to this orchard repeatedly maybe 4 or 5 times in the course of 1 week or 2 weeks. I have seen that they dug up hundreds of corpses from single pits and they reburied them again and I saw it repeated for days and days, so the conclusion is reasonable that there must have been thousands of these corpses. The number I have given here is based on the findings of the German investigations.

Now, as this digging up of graves in the orchard started the population told the Germans that they had suspicions that there might be two other places in Vinnitsa where other mass graves might be found, one of them was the old cemetery of Vinnitsa and the second place was the so-called people's recreation park. The German town commissar of Vinnitsa then gave the order to start the diggings in these both places and they found the mass graves in these places, too. In this cemetery called the Cemetery of Honor there was a chapel. I don't really know in honor of what this cemetery was named, so in an old part of this cemetery the Bolsheviks fenced a part of this cemetery

in 1937—fenced it in with a high fence and started this same dirty business there. Again during the winter, this harsh winter of 1941 and 1942, the people have taken away this fence piece by piece, and they found these graves there, too. There had been altogether 40 such graves. Myself personally I have seen only some 10 or 12, no more. Really it was too depressing, gentlemen, to go there and see again and again those graves, but it was enough to see what I have seen of these graves. Again I have a plan of this cemetery as it looked like, gentlemen. Almost the same pattern is shown by the German official documents. And now comes the third place, the people's recreation park. This peoples' recreation park was erected pretty late—I believe in 1938. Before that time there was only the wasteland, sort of wasteland, some old oaks and underbrush, in the neighborhood and vicinity of the NKVD prison.

Mr. McTIGUE. And the bodies so far that were exhumed and which you saw were they men, women, and children?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Yes; for the most part men and women. I will come to that. Now this third place, this peoples' recreation park, the strange thing is that over these mass graves there had been erected such amusement establishments as to create some sort of Coney Island of Vinnitsa, that is the idea. Such as laughing cabinets and the like.

Mr. McTIGUE. What is that, the laughing cabinet?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. You know what I mean by laughing cabinet. It is where they have convex and concave mirrors, so over every one of these graves was constructed such a laughing cabinet, and over every two graves a platform for dancing and people danced there not knowing there were corpses underneath. Those were the three places. You have asked me what I have seen. I have seen and observed how these exhumations took place, how they brought up the corpses to the surfaces in such a way as to require workers to be in the pit. They put the corpses on the belly—on the face, put a line under his waist and two other workers fetched those corpses up to the surface. They worked at the same time always on 2 or 3 mass graves because they had to exhume each corpse and to try to identify them. This took time, there were physicians and medical men who did this business.

After they had exhumed some 800 or 1,000 corpses or what remained of the human bodies from the mass graves, then came priests and they were buried again with honor, at a Christian ceremony. I believe all of these corpses had been examined and an attempt was made to identify them. Among those I have seen there were not many children or women. For the most part there were men. These exhumations took place simultaneously at three places, and they finished these exhumations at the end of August 1943. I do not remember the exact day. Of course, the Germans after they have found these terrible places tried to make use of it, politically and propagandistically, so they invited committees to come and inspect the place. I remember at the beginning of July 1943 there came an official German committee and later there was also an international committee. I have got a statement here which gives some names and more exact details about that. The German investigating committee consisted of three groups, a group of specialists in forensic medicine with Professor Dr. Schrader, the chairman of the Society of Forensic Medicine at the University of Halle-Wittenberg at the head. They were assisted by the local physicians, Professor Dr. Malinin, from Krasnodar, and

Assistant Professor Dr. Doroshenko, from Vinnitsa. That was the first group. The second group consisted of the committee for the investigation of murder from the Reichskriminalpolizeiamt, Berlin, the chairman being Regierungsrat Klass. The third group was the delegation of the German Ministry of Justice, chief counsel was Senatspraesident Dr. Ziegler. The most important group of the German Government seemed to be the international committee of expert foreign forensic physicians which visited Vinnitsa in July 1943, and then on July 15, 1943, signed a protocol as a summary of their findings. I have a list here of all the members; if you wish I might submit this statement.

Mr. KERSTEN. We shall receive it, without objection. Can you tell us when you first saw any of these graves?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. I first saw them around June 5 or 7, 1943.

Mr. KERSTEN. Where were you when you first heard about these graves?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. I was living in Vinnitsa.

Mr. KERSTEN. What prompted you to go to the location of where these graves were?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Rumors spread that mass graves had been found, and I was very much interested. I am by profession a journalist, I had to go and see what was happening.

Mr. KERSTEN. Do you remember what time of the day it was, morning or afternoon?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. It was afternoon.

Mr. KERSTEN. You were a journalist at that time?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. No, I was not. I was working in the central administration of the sugar industry, district of Vinnitsa.

Mr. McTIGUE. Proceed.

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Of course, I was interested in who these people were, as far as I could ascertain this from the population. I spoke with many people about that and I am quite convinced these were mostly plain average people. First of all they were farmers, workers, artisans, and also the intelligentsia as we say, those people of learned profession. What was very interesting is that after the news about these terrible findings spread throughout the region of Vinnitsa people started to come to Vinnitsa, for the most part women, mothers, sisters, sweethearts, and you could see in this orchard and in the other two places lots of women coming and going. Between the apple trees in this orchard they spanned steel wire and over them they hung the garments so that they dried slowly.

There were not very many identification cards with the people in the graves, and the most people had been identified by their garments, by their clothing. So you could see day for day, for weeks women came and looked over these garments. A great many of these people were identified, I do not know exactly how many had been identified by this German committee, almost 700 I believe, and most of these people had been identified by their clothing. I saw many dramatic scenes when people, women, recognized their dear ones or at least the clothing. Then after the women had found, let's say, a shirt, pants, or something like that they started to turn over the corpses just to look at the corpses in an effort to recognize them. Once in a while they did recognize them, but it did not happen very often.

Later when the news spread people started to come not only from Vinnitsa but also from all other regions and places in Ukraine. The findings of the investigations proved most people found in these terrible pits had been people from Vinnitsa. I do not understand anything about forensic medicine, I cannot say whether it is true or not, but I believe that it is true that most of these men had been of the age between 30 and 40 years, men in their best years for work and war, so to say. I asked myself what might have been the reasons for this terror. First of all, I put to myself the question, who did it? It may have been the Germans or the Bolsheviks. I do not believe it was the Germans. I do not have a very high opinion of these Nazi's, of their way of ruling and their government, but when they occupied Vinnitsa region in June and July 1941 the regular front troops came first. They did not kill people in mass.

Of course, there later came Gestapo units and they killed Jews. They did it openly so that everybody knew what was going on. The German civilian administration came in only in the beginning of 1942. It is quite impossible that they could have done it. The population could move around more freely during that time than under the Bolsheviks. It is impossible that they could have arrested, killed, and buried these people. I do not understand forensic medicine but I believe if they were killed in 1941 the corpses might have been much fresher than they were when they were found. I do not believe that it was done by the Germans; I exclude that possibility. I am sure it was by the Bolsheviks. On the corpses, documents were found showing that they were arrested by the Bolsheviks.

Why did the Bolsheviks do this? There are, I believe, two reasons. The first reason might be for the effect of terror in itself, the system of terror. In the region of Vinnitsa and some other regions people were taken away, for the most part during nighttime. The NKVD knocked at the door and the man of the house vanished. The people in Ukraine never openly said the NKVD did so. They always said "they" took him, and "they" arrested him or her, always this word "they."

Mr. KERSTEN. Whom do you think they meant by "they"?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Of course, that was commonsense to know by "they," they meant the NKVD. Just in the years 1937 and 1938 the last big wave of purges took place, just before the outbreak of the Second World War. These mass purges started in 1935 after Kirov had been killed and this last big wave of mass terror swept over the Soviet Union, for the most part over the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union, and many people had been arrested at that time.

I might say that terror was one of the reasons why they did it, just to keep the population under pressure so everyone might always feel that somebody might take him. The second reason and more important reason was that the Bolsheviks, the Russian occupants of the Ukraine, were never sure what the population would do. It is known that the region of Vinnitsa was one of the regions where this Ukrainian insurgent movement and liberation movement during the years 1917 and 1918 was very much alive. Just in the region of Vinnitsa there was a known leader, popular leader of the Ukrainian partisans who were fighting for the liberation from Bolshevism. This Vinnitsa region was adjacent to Poland, prewar Poland. The Communists had to be cautious, extremely cautious because they knew that the Ukrain-

ian population always refused to submit to and acknowledge the Bolshevik rule in the Ukraine. So I might say that a reign of terror against the national feelings of the Ukrainians and the struggle for liberation was one of the main reasons that this wave of terror spread throughout the Ukraine. It is known that just at that time many people were arrested not only in Vinnitsa but also in other regions. Ukraine was divided at that time into 19 such regions. If you take, for instance, and it is just speculation but this seems to be very appropriate, that each region had its quota of murders set and if we assume that in the Vinnitsa region 10,000 people perished, this would give us for all 19 Ukrainian regions some 200,000 people, at least, who were murdered, not counting all those deported to Siberia, during that last big purge.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were all bodies that were identified of people from the immediate area of Vinnitsa?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Yes, for the most part. What is interesting is the following, that there had been found in these pits not only Ukrainians but also Poles. The German investigation shows that 679 corpses had been identified.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were they Poles?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. From these 10,000 people, 679 had been identified, among them were 28 Poles, but in my opinion there must have been more Poles than 28. I have a German document here, an official report on the Vinnitsa case, and in this there are names, although listed as Ukrainians, appear to be Polish names, especially for instance Manjowsky, first name Ludwika, father's name Zygmutowicz. I do not think it would be appropriate to enumerate all these names, but if you are interested I can try to get this for you.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were there any Volksdeutsche identified?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Yes, some Volksdeutsche have been identified, too. I believe my colleague, who is here, has some clues that there might have been an American, too, among the corpses. This report is a very rare book and is in possession of the American consulate library at Munich. This mass murder in Vinnitsa, in my opinion, is one of the traits of the policy Moscow is applying against the Ukraine. In the years of 1937 and 1938, and also in 1932 and 1933, there was a terrific manmade famine in the Ukraine. In 1936 there was still another big wave of purges in the Ukraine.

Mr. McTIGUE. You mean a purposely created famine?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Yes, by this famine, as witnesses will later testify and try to prove it, 6 million to 7 million people were killed, died of starvation. This can be proven. These mass killings of Vinnitsa, and as I have reasons to assume in all other Provinces of the Ukraine at that time, was one of the traits of the Moscow policy applied to the Ukraine. I believe that the same traits and the same system is now being repeated in Poland, Hungary, in the Baltic States, and the other non-Russian nations. This was, as I believe, one of the last big waves of purges of the prewar time, then came the war, and after the war they started still other purges. It isn't my task to testify about these other purges; I only should like to stress that recently, in the last year, Moscow has been trying to change its policy, reverse its policy toward the Ukraine. Until now they had been trying to handle the Ukrainian people by sheer terror. Now they are trying to do it with "sugar," as we say, not with the whip.

Mr. FEIGHAN. You just mentioned that the Soviets have changed their policy toward the Ukrainians. I take it you are probably thinking about the tactical change that has developed in connection with the anniversary of the Pereyaslav Treaty. I am taking the liberty of interrupting you because you mentioned this change of policy. I would like to ask you what is the meaning of Russian treatment of this 300th anniversary of the Pereyaslav Treaty, and what in your opinion is the meaning of this change of tactics?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. I might answer in this way. This Pereyaslav treaty was concluded 300 years ago between Muskovy and the Ukraine. At first I would like to talk about the exact names. At that time, 300 years ago, there was not a Russia, in the meaning of the word today. Russia was created officially, so to say, in 1721, by Peter I. Previous to 1721 there was only the Czar of Muscovy, so the treaty was entered into between the Czar of Muscovy and the so-called Kossak Host of Ukraine. The leader of this Kossak Host of Ukraine was the Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky. The treaty was concluded between the Hetman of Ukraine Bohdan Khmelnytsky and the Czar of Muscovy Alexey Michailovich from the Dynasty of Romanov. The official title of Alexey Michailovich was "Chief of the Free Kossak Host and its Territories." This treaty was concluded on January 8, 1654. The Moscow regime of today takes every occasion to show a change in tactics toward the Ukrainians. It would take too long even to enumerate what the Russians do now just to convince the Ukrainians that the best course for them would be to have a partnership with the Russians in the control of their empire, as the so-called second nation of the empire.

Mr. FEIGHAN. It may be interesting to point out that when they concluded that treaty on January 8, 1654, the Ukrainians had at that time been fighting for 6 years against Poland and that they were looking for assistance, that this Hetman Khmelnytsky made arrangements with Moscow, the Czar of Muscovy for assistance in his fight against Poland? The agreement was made that the Russians should assist them militarily. My understanding is that the Muscovites did not come in to help, but to conquer and occupy them. Another very important phase of this so-called treaty of Pereyaslav was that it was not signed until 2 months after it was negotiated and it was signed in Muscovy, it was signed without Hetman Khmelnytsky checking one word?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. That is right.

Mr. FEIGHAN. This has been the subject of much discussion and there was disagreement as to the interpretation of the terms of that treaty?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. That is right.

Mr. FEIGHAN. According to the Ukrainian patriots the Muscovites misinterpreted the treaty to permit them to build military installations within Ukraine which was the way by which they absorbed the Ukraine during the following years?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. That is correct.

Mr. FEIGHAN. I think it is of importance to bring out the similarity of the pattern engaged in by the Czar of Muscovy in 1654 which is the same pattern and the same method they still use to illegally seize and occupy all non-Russian nations.

Mr. PELENSKYJ. That is correct, the interpretation, the analysis is absolutely correct. What the Ukrainians wanted was a treaty against

the Pole. Khmelnytsky tried to form an alliance with western powers, but he did not have success. So he tried to make a deal with Muscovy, but he only wanted an alliance, nothing else. This alliance later proved not to be an alliance but to be a means for the Russians to put their chains on the Ukraine. Then step by step in the course of the next decades and centuries this free country allied with Muscovy on a treaty of alliance became not only dependent but a part of the Russian empire. Even the name of the Ukraine was deleted and they changed the name to Little Russia. This entire free Ukrainian nation and state became a part of Imperial Russia. This same pattern, this whole history, was repeated once again in the Ukraine and other non-Russian countries in 1919. Russia started to do this thing again with the Ukraine with the same method. First they recognized Ukraine as an independent nation, gave them a sort of treaty, then the enslavement of Ukraine proceeded and proceeded. I have prepared a statement and with your permission I want to submit it.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is this in addition to the statement you have already given us?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. I respectfully suggest that we accept this statement for the record as it shows the tactics of the Communists which are so little understood by most of the people of the free world.

Mr. KERSTEN. Without exception, they may so be received.

Mr. PELENSKYJ. I have some more exhibits concerning the mass graves of Vinnitsa.

Mr. KERSTEN. In the course of your testimony thus far you have shown us 3 sketches showing several mass graves numbered 1, 2, 3; these, however, are not the exhibit numbers. You also showed us a statement entitled "Testimony of Zenon Pelenskyj" and in addition what appears to be a German book entitled "Ämtliches Material" which is the property of the American consulate library and in addition a statement by the witness entitled "Treaty of Pereyaslav." All of these exhibits may be made part of the record. However, the book which is property of the American consulate is subject to such arrangements as the committee might be able to make with the consulate. Without objection, the exhibits may be received.

Mr. PELENSKYJ. I had a camera with me during the time I visited the graves in Vinnitsa. I made these pictures and I have preserved the films of these pictures. I am presenting to you these pictures which have never been made public until now.

Mr. KERSTEN. We mark these pictures A-1 through A-27. I show you a series of photographs which are marked A-1 to A-27 and as I understand it you took the pictures represented on these photographs?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Yes.

Mr. KERSTEN. You, yourself, personally?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Yes.

Mr. KERSTEN. These are prints of negatives which you possess?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Yes.

Mr. KERSTEN. I ask you whether or not these photographs correctly represent the scenes as you, yourself, personally saw them when you took the photographs on that day?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. They do.

Mr. KERSTEN. They are pictures of the mass graves and the activities around the mass graves and the environments thereof as you have told us today?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Yes, they do.

Mr. KERSTEN. On the back of a number of the photographs are legends and descriptions and those legends and descriptions correctly record the view on these photographs?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Yes, they do.

Mr. KERSTEN. Without objection, they may be received. As I understand, Mr. Pelenskyj, these pictures that you have taken have never before been made public?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Not before today.

Mr. KERSTEN. We adjourn until 2 o'clock.

(The committee reconvened in open session at 2:30 p. m.)

Mr. KERSTEN. The meeting will come to order.

Mr. McTIGUE. You had finished your testimony, Mr. Pelenskyj, on the massacre of Vinnitsa?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. That's right.

Mr. McTIGUE. Will you please proceed now with the further testimony that you have.

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Yes. This case of mass killings of Vinnitsa is the result of one form of Bolshevik aggression against the Ukrainian nation. It is the most brutal form of aggression. But they use not only these forms, but also the psychological forms of aggression, and I ask this committee to listen to the case of the Treaty of Pereyaslav. This case forms the classic example of a psychological aggression, and the preparation of further aggressions directed not only against the Ukraine but against the whole world, so I will try to explain how I see it.

First I would like to show you gentlemen the scope of the coverage of this mass propaganda they are using on the anniversary of this Treaty of Pereyaslav. Ukraine has at present 25 provinces, and in each province there has been since November last year, now almost 8 months, and this can be proven by the clippings from Bolshevik newspapers, in each of the Ukrainian provinces for the past 8 months now there have been approximately 10,000 to 12,000 agitators and propagandists working only on the Pereyaslav Treaty. So what do we have in Ukraine now, some 300,000 agitators working only on this one propaganda effort. So they conduct mass propaganda and, I would say by this method brainwashing is applied in mass rallies, parades, demonstrations, speeches, and so on and so on. Personally I am wondering why the western press and American press can't see this play in Ukraine. It isn't reported sufficiently. It is most conspicuous for at least us Ukrainians. One of such maneuvers of this mass propaganda emphasizes is the gift our Russian brother—as they used to call themselves—has bestowed upon the younger brother, in the gift of Crimea in February 1945, by the decrees of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of U. S. S. R. during a special session. The representatives of the Ukrainian Supreme Council and of the Russian Supreme Soviet were present.

The Crimea had been attached to the Ukraine as the 26th province, and the speeches, the Soviet speakers, stressed that this was the gift of the elder brother to the younger brother, and a proof of the unlimited confidence of Russia in the Ukraine nation. But all—the Ukrai-

nians knew only too well the history of Crimea and knew what was behind this Russian play. Till June 25, 1946, the Crimea was an autonomous republic of the Soviet Union. That autonomous republic, the Tartar nation, was abolished, and between the 10th and 21st of April 1946, almost 300,000 Crimean Tartars had been deported or killed outright. If there ever was a case of genocide, we have such a case in Crimea.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Wasn't that the subject about which Colonel Burlitsky testified here the other day?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. No, this is a different case. The colonel had testified concerning the Chechen-Ingush nation and I am talking about the Crimean Tartars.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. He also testified about the Crimean Tartars.

Mr. PELENSKYJ. I haven't heard this. But the gist of this problem is, as you know, the Muscovites have presented Ukraine with a Tartar national graveyard. This is to make the Ukrainians co-responsible for the Russian genocidal crime as participants in the spoils, and I am convinced it is the purpose of the Russian Bolsheviks to make Ukraine co-responsible for this crime.

Mr. FEIGHAN. The Ukrainians are conscious of the fact that Crimea belongs to the Crimean Tartars, and they do not long for anybody else's territory. All they want and ask for is self-determination for their own country, that's as I understand it.

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Absolutely no, sir, because we know this peninsula was for hundreds and hundreds of years the land of the Tartars. Of course, Crimea is extremely important for us Ukrainians too because it is on the Black Sea, but we never had relations with Crimean Tartars in such a way as the Russians did. There are in history eight wars between Russia and Turkey over the Black Sea and Crimea, and we look at this problem in an entirely different way. We refuse absolutely to have anything to do with this Russian imperialistic deal. We would like to have the best possible friendly relations with the Tartars because we know this was the land of the Crimean Tartars. Now there are not very many of them left. What the future solution would be I don't know, but anyway the Ukrainians take no responsibility whatever for what was done. This was an unwanted gift, and we did not ask for this; it was just bestowed upon us. What the future solution would be I don't know. Now, another thing that is interesting is this mass Bolshevik propaganda in Ukraine. They have published Ukrainian literature in unheard of quantities and have it translated in so many Eastern European and Asian languages, in Chinese and Korean and so on. This is stressing that only with the help and support of the Russian older brother, the Ukrainian national culture would receive an opportunity to become known and respected throughout the world. So there is a real inundation of this Ukrainian literature now through all Eastern Europe. The idea, of course, is that the Russians alone can give the Ukrainians the chance of becoming the second leading nation of the Soviet Empire, the great ally. Now to stress this, on March 3, 1954, there took place in Moscow a plenary session of the Union of the Writers of the Soviet Union and 400 topnotch people were present, and the main speaker was Mazyn Rylsky. In his speech, of course, he stressed and eulogized the eternal union and friendship between Ukraine and Russia and so on.

A writer, Nathan Rybak, he published a novel, two volumes, about the Cossac Hetman of Ukraine, Bohdan Khmelnytsky. Now, some districts of Ukraine have been named for Khmelnytsky. A big Arch of Glory was constructed in Kiev. For 1 week, and this was during April, a big concert of Ukrainian national music was given in Moscow and it is very interesting who were attending. Attending were Malenkov, Khrushov, Voroshilov, Bulganin, Kaganowich, Mikoyan, Perukhin, Shvernik, Suslov, Pospelov, Shatalin, just to show the people of Ukraine how respected is the Ukrainian Government by all the bigwigs of the Soviet Union. On the 10th of May a big opera, Bohdan Khmelnytsky, was performed in Moscow. The opera was written by Korneychuk and this Polish writer, Wassilewska. Now, May 11 there was a plenary session of the Supreme Soviet held in Kiev dedicated to the treaty. There were also present the bigwigs of Ukraine and other Soviet republics, and the Polish were invited, and what is interesting in this is that the Soviet Republic of the Ukraine, and the capital of Kiev, got the Order of Lenin for bravery. I cannot imagine how an order can be pinned on the breast of the republic or the town, but anyway they did it. Very interesting trait of this speech is during this plenary session of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine was that the party boss of Ukraina, Kyrychenko, assailed most ferociously the Americans. He charged that the Americans were warmongers and imperialists, and planned to renew the government of the big landlords in the Ukraine. And Kyrychenko stressed that it had been the Communists who helped the Ukraine to get their own independence, a really sovereign republic, and that it was the Communists who helped the Ukraine to become a member nation of the United Nations. This speech of Comrade Kyrychenko was a classical example of how to make the people love Russians and to hate Americans.

It is worthwhile to translate this speech and have it read by as many people as possible so that you will know how these Communists work. On May 29 there was another such big session, this time of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federated Republic, with the same big wigs attending. Now, what is the reason that they make such big shows, such displays? At the bottom of all this lies, as I see it, the unsolved problem of the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union. They know it, the Russians, and they are trying to do something about that. This is a sign that this submerged anguish of the Russian Bolsheviks concerning the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union is very much alive, and, first of all, a deep anguish that Ukraine might be the first nation to separate herself from the Soviet Union. This Pereyaslav festivities were also made for foreign consumption, to convince the foreign countries that Ukraine now has all its territory united, that there is nothing more that the Ukraine can demand, and everybody who is fighting for Ukrainian independence, and who is trying to fight for this goal in foreign countries and foreign nations, is a traitor. They are trying to destroy all the attempts of Ukrainians in the free world who are fighting for the national independence and sovereignty of their country and to label them all as traitors. This is what I mean by moral genocide. Another such trait is very interesting, as I see it—this, gentlemen: Remember the name of Beria. Beria was arrested and executed, and behind all this was the same underlying problem—the problem of the non-Russian nations. What was

the situation and what was the main idea of the so-called Leninistic policy?

The Soviet Union consists of 16—first of all, it was 13, then 16—so-called union republics. It was the Leninistic line of thinking that each national republic is equal to the other. What they now are trying to do, the Russians, and why Beria was shot, is because Beria saw this internal danger of the unsolved problem of the non-Russian nations and tried to capitalize on that; not that he was a liberal man and not that he became humane; on his account must be charged such crimes as Vinnitsa and other mass crimes, but he saw politically the danger of the unsolved national problem and tried to do something about it.

Mr. FEIGHAN. When you speak of the national problem—

Mr. PELENSKYJ. That's right.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Am I correct in my belief that you mean the yearnings of healthy nationalism within the people in the confines of the Ukraine to be independent and free and have their own sovereignty? That spirit of nationalism is what you mean?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. That's right; that's correct, sir. We have got, as I see this problem, to discern, to see the difference between two types of nationalism. There's first, you know, this chauvinistic imperialistic nationalism which is trying to subject and to enslave the other nations, to denationalize them, and this is the Russian sort. The other sort, I would like to say, is enlightened nationalism, which means that each nation has an inalienable right to its own independence, its sovereign statehood.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Self-determination?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Self-determination of nations.

Mr. KERSTEN. And would't you say involved in the concept of self-determination of nations—

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Yes.

Mr. KERSTEN. Is the right of a people to maintain their own language, their own culture, their own tradition—

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Absolutely.

Mr. KERSTEN. Their own particular ways in which they develop, having lived in a particular area over the centuries—

Mr. PELENSKYJ. That's correct.

Mr. KERSTEN. So that each is accorded a unique identity?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. That's correct.

Mr. KERSTEN. And that in contrast to this, the type of activity that would make everybody the same, would seek to create a new Soviet man, to destroy all these traits and cultures that have been built up over the centuries?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. That is absolutely correct, sir. It is the conception of the Nationalists as the Ukrainians maintain it and how the Ukrainians understand it.

Mr. KERSTEN. In other words, the Communists want to make everybody in the world robots to fit the Soviet machines, and the other is the conception that God created the world where every nation has its own characteristic traits and characteristics?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. That's what we believe, the latter. Now, what are the other meanings of the Pereyaslav festivities in Ukraine? Why are the Russians trying to convince the Ukraine that the best way for

them to cast their lot with the Russians? Now, the Bolshevik bloc of today consists of some 800 million people, Chinese and the others. Among these there are only 100 million Russians, the Muscovites, and this whole business—this will become, with time, very burdensome for the Russians alone. The Chinese are winning more and more influence in this Communist bloc, so the Russians are trying with all possible means to get the support of Slav nations inside the Bolshevik bloc.

It is very interesting how they do this. First of all, they are trying to convince the Ukrainians that there are not such two things as Russian nation and Ukrainian nation. It is only the Russian race, which consists of different populations. That was the difference between the conception of Beria and the conception of Khrushchov-Malenkov, that Beria still acknowledged that there are different nations, and the Russians are trying to make one Slav Russian dominated bloc inside this empire, and by this to get the support of the Slavs. What are they doing? So take notice, gentlemen, of the very interesting fact that in the last 3 or 4 months there took place the national conferences or the Communist Parties of Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, and to all these conferences, except Hungary, they sent from Moscow the bigwigs, first of all that Comrade Khrushchov, the Kremlin big man. And here lies the explanation: In Poland it was in April, in Czechoslovakia in June, and in Bulgaria, I believe it was April, too, and Khrushchov went everywhere and held speeches, the most nationalistic speeches ever heard from this man. Now, there is another reason for this. The Bolsheviks are criminals in my view, but they are politically no fools. They know what they are doing, and in my view these festivities of Pereyaslav mean that they see a showdown, a big fight, coming, and they have their experiences with the Ukrainians. These experiences were during the last World War, about 1941, as they broke out the German-Russian war. The Western World was wondering why the German armies are marching so quickly, why they are occupying in such a short time the large spaces of Ukraine and other non-Russian lands of the Soviet Union.

The simple explanation is that these nations, Ukraine, Byelorussia, and the Caucasus nations didn't support the Communists. They didn't know what Hitler was. If they knew, maybe their attitude would have been quite different, but they simply expected, being whoever Hitler was, he couldn't be so bad as bolshevism, and so they tried to help themselves. Two years later, such a fool as Hitler was, politically at least, his program had reconciled the Ukrainians again with the Bolsheviks, because they saw that Hitler was no better than the Bolshevik system was. Now the Russians try to avoid this same experience. They are trying to win the Ukrainian support right now before the next war, not after the war, and this is the explanation why they are doing those things. Now, I am at the end of my explanations, gentlemen. I would like to stress that this Pereyaslav Treaty is just an example of how they are making elaborate preparations for war. They are just preparing, just convincing the Ukrainians that it would be quite better to make the common cause with the Russians and the Bolsheviks. On the other hand, on the other side, as I see it, there seems not very much being done about it. In any case, the Bolsheviks are stealing the best American political fodder, by support-

ing national independence movements. The Americans won the war here in Europe. Now this same maneuver is being used by the Bolsheviks in Asia, as you see it yourself, gentlemen, and they are trying to pervert it in the Soviet Union, too. The official position of the American Government seems to be one of indifference. Now, I don't believe that is the right idea. The best way would be to counter these Soviet attempts of psychological and political aggression by some countermeasures, but first of all, in appreciating and evaluating rightly the idea of self-determination of nations, at least to show the enslaved people the Americans are interested in the rebirth of independence for so many nations behind the Iron Curtain. It would be the best way to counter this political assault perpetrated under the cover of this Treaty of Pereyaslav. I believe that is what I have to say.

Mr. BONIN. I wish to commend the witness for his fine statement and his knowledge of the facts, and I honestly believe he has presented a factual picture to this committee that is very helpful and will contribute greatly to the future understanding of this Communist problem.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Pelenskyj, I want to say also that I am very happy that the Ukrainian people have an opportunity, for probably the first time, to present the truth about the Vinnitsa massacre, and about other facts concerning the way the Soviets dealt with the Ukraine. I think I told you before Monday, I think I am fortunate in being one of the few individuals left in the world who had an actual film showing the uncovering of these bodies, and the various wives, mothers, and sisters of the victims trying to identify the bodies, and I am going to turn that over to the committee as a record for the committee. These graves were uncovered by the Germans in May 1943?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Not quite, because first the Ukrainians discovered the graves.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Well, the Germans exhumed the bodies in May 1943?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. No; first the Ukrainians; only after the first 3 or 4 graves were opened, then the Germans took notice of this and ordered mass exhumation.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. When was this?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. May 1943.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That was after the Goebbels' announcement of the graves at Katyn?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. That's right.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. As a matter of fact, if it hadn't been for the Katyn discovery, the Germans wouldn't have taken notice of these graves?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. It is very probable, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You spoke of the international Commission which was formed to investigate these bodies. The purpose of that Commission was to determine from the physical condition of the bodies and other facts the date of the murders, is that correct?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. That is correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And this group consisted of 10 various nationalities in Europe, Sweden, Bulgaria, Rumania, et cetera?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. That's right.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. The unanimous opinion was that these killings took place in 1938 or 1939?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. In 1937 or 1938; that is correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Before World War II started. Subsequently the Soviets took over that territory, did not not?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Yes, they did.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did they, the Russians, subsequently make any investigation of their own that you know of?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Not that I have heard of.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Because you know in the Katyn incident there was a so-called Russian and German investigation?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. That is true.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. But in this instance the Soviets did not attempt to make any investigation?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. I never heard of one.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do you know what their response was to the finding of the international Commission? Did they make any comment on it?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Not that I know of, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. So that you know of no serious attempt on the part of the Soviets to deny their guilt of these murders?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. No, sir. I know of none.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. As a matter of fact, the guilt was so clear there was no opportunity to deny the facts?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Yes, I believe that.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Just one question. And I think I see the answer in the last paragraph of your statement. I meant to ask you what you think we should do in order to solve the problem of the enslaved people behind the Iron Curtain, but I think I can quote your own statement.

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Please do.

Mr. MACHROWICZ (reading):

If bolshevism and Russian imperialism is not fought and defeated, and human, national and state liberation not effected, bolshevism will continue to march on victoriously, and—believe me or not—the broad Atlantic will not hinder them from coming one day, and bringing their system of Vinnitsa to the United States. I saw Vinnitsa and learned my lesson. There is only one remedy: no diplomacy, no maneuvering, no compromises, no foul deals, but a fight, an honest bitter fight until the shame of Ukrainian Vinnitsa, and the danger of all future Vinnitsas, is extinguished—once for all.

Would you say that is your opinion of what we can best do today to help liberate the people behind the Iron Curtan?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. It's my opinion, sir, yes. They will never cease to assail free nations of the world and I believe that very strongly, that the most important weapon to fight bolshevism is to use the power of resistance of non-Russian nations inside the Soviet bloc, starting with the Baltic nations, the Poles, and the other nations, and ending with everyone who isn't a Russian and who isn't a Communist, and there are hundreds of millions of them. It is the best way. I don't see any other way to convince the Russian Bolsheviks to make an honest peace with the world.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. May I ask you this: Do you see any possibility of any peaceful coexistence with Soviet Russia?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. No, I don't, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I don't know if you have read this morning's paper or not.

Mr. PELENSKYJ. No, I haven't.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Prime Minister Winston Churchill announced from Washington that he is making a plea today for a "real good try" for peaceful coexistence with Russia to minimize the risk of a conflict which would "leave us victorious on a heap of ruins." Do you feel that peaceful coexistence minimizes the risk of conflict?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. No, sir, in my view, no; because they are using such peaceful overtures just to get prepared for another onslaught on the free world.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I would like to quote further from Prime Minister Churchill's statement in today's paper which, I will be frank to say, makes me feel very sad at his apparent lack of understanding. He says:

I would like to make quite sure that the Russian people would not feel that they might gain far more by a quarter-century of peaceful development in their own country than by pushing matters to a point * * * to a situation which baffled the human imagination.

Do you think the Russian people have anything to do with what is going on in the Kremlin today?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Not the mass of the people, because they are suffering as everyone else in that empire, but it is entirely impossible to convince the Russian Bolshevik ruling class that they might stop and make peace. It is basic to the Bolshevik doctrine that they cannot stop. They have got to fight the free world until the free world is either conquered or they are conquered. There is no possibility of a compromise, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Isn't it true that it is almost impossible to understand the error of these diplomats of ours who are confusing the gang in the Kremlin with the Russian people themselves?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Yes, I believe it is wrong to assume this. Maybe Sir Winston Churchill is right in assuming that the Russians, as such, are not eager for war, and are not eager for further imperialistic assaults, but it is of no avail because the Russian people have nothing to do in this case, and nothing to say.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. But what he and others of his type are doing is asking for peaceful coexistence with a regime that doesn't represent the people.

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Yes, so this regime doesn't represent the people and this ruling class of Bolsheviks are using such slogans of coexistence only for tactical purposes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is all.

Mr. BUSBEY. In reference to the gangsters who are ruling from the Kremlin, I understood you to say that you could not compromise with them. I would like to add to this: That you cannot compromise with them any more than you can compromise with evil, is that right?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. That's absolutely right, sir.

Mr. BUSBEY. If all the nations of the free world would simultaneously withdraw recognition of Soviet Russia and prohibit any trade from the free world with Soviet Russia and her satellite nations, or the nations that are under the iron heel of the Kremlin today. Would that in your opinion be to our advantage or to the advantage of the Bolsheviks?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Under such a policy of nontrade the peoples of the Soviet Union would suffer because the Bolsheviks would get crazy,

from anguish and anger, and those who would have to suffer chiefly would be the just average plain people within this Bolshevik bloc, so the best way, in my view, is not to isolate them but to fight them, the leaders of the Bolshevik bloc, using the political ideas of democracy of freedom and independence for nations. You would thus hurt the Bolsheviks much more than a blockade.

Mr. BUSBEY. Well, the people inside the Soviet orbit certainly can't have any arms with which to fight; they were all taken away from them.

Mr. PELENSKYJ. No; they cannot, and have not, but it is possible to fight the Bolsheviks politically inside the Soviet Union just by spreading the ideas of liberty and democracy and independence of nations, just to tell the people inside the Soviet Union that there is a future possibility of constructing a better world, a much more just world, than the Bolshevik regime is, or ever was.

Mr. BUSBEY. Of course, we know that there will be a considerable amount of suffering before we can change this Communist trend toward world revolution.

Mr. PELENSKYJ. That's right.

Mr. BUSBEY. But would it be better to have that suffering now, instead of postponing the day of judgment?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Yes, sir; it is my view too it would be better to make a shortcut, because time, in my personal opinion, is running very short, and so long as the Western World has, until now, the possibility to fight bolshevism with democratic political ideas, and to be victorious by that solution, it should be done. Later it may be too late. It is my personal opinion, of course.

Mr. BUSBEY. Thank you.

Mr. FEIGHAN. You agree with me that the reason that the Russians massacred the thousands of Ukrainians at Vinnitsa is because they wanted to destroy the strong, healthy, national spirit in the Ukraine?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. That's right.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you not believe that the Treaty of Pereyaslav and the treaties of mutual assistance with the Baltic States are parallel?

They gave Moscow the excuse to enter those countries under the pretense of helping, but they were designed for, and ended, in the annihilation of the independence of all, and of the murder and deportation to slavery of millions upon millions of their people, of murder and human destruction indescribable?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. That's correct, sir.

Mr. FEIGHAN. The Treaty of Pereyaslav and the mutual-assistance treaties with the Baltic States by Russia show conclusively that Russian methods have never altered, whether they are applied by the Czarists or by the Bolsheviks, or the present Communist regime in the Kremlin.

Mr. PELENSKYJ. That's correct.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Now the celebrations being held throughout the length and breadth of the Soviet Union on behalf of the Treaty of Pereyaslav, that is the 300th anniversary, is a deceitful measure aimed to destroy the national spirit of the Ukraine. Therefore, if we, in the free world, do not let the people within the Ukraine, and the other captive nations within the U. S. S. R., know that we are firm believers and want to help in the cause of national self-determination, of com-

plete sovereignty for individual nations, if we do not let them know that we will assist them in their struggles for national self-determination, we will be lacking in moral determination and political responsibility; do you not think so?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Yes; I do, sir. It's very strange for many of us Ukrainians, and, as far as I know, other captive nations, this indecisiveness of the western policy on the whole Bolshevik problem, how to tackle it. During the First World War I was old enough to understand the impact of the American idea of national self-determination of nations. I was until 1918 a subject of the Austrian Empire, which consisted of many nations, and I saw it, I experienced it, with what an enthusiasm the 14 points of the late President Wilson were accepted. This had a real impact, vital impact on the people and it made them happy. The news about the pronouncement of these 14 points of President Wilson spread like wildfire throughout the whole area of the Central Powers. Now, what is the situation today? What do the Bolsheviks? They are trying on one hand to convince the free world that the Ukrainians are some sort of Russians; on the other hand, they say, "Look, boys," they say to the Ukrainians, "you have all the opportunity, you have the best chances in the world, you are going to be the second nation of the world." They are trying to convince us that we are the land of the future, that the ideas of the Bolsheviks are the coming ideas of the world, at the same time the Americans don't support their idea of national self-determination either in American policy or American propaganda. The official situation is support for nonpredetermination, which is the same as saying Americans were thoroughly disinterested in all this. This is psychological warfare. We have to say this, the Bolsheviks are waging psychological warfare against the whole world now. So we have got to do something about that.

We have got to convince, absolutely convince, the enslaved nations of the Soviet Union and of the entire Soviet bloc that the Americans and the free world understands their national aspirations, that America is absolutely willing to help the people to gain their national independence, that America is absolutely resolved to help and to support all these patriotic movements. I do not mean that we would like to find some form of coexistence as taught by the Bolsheviks, but rather a unity among the many enslaved nations. I cannot imagine any more wars between Poland and the Ukraine and between Ukraine and Slovakia, and so forth. I do not know what form the future coexistence among the enslaved nations will be, but I am absolutely convinced that Eastern Europe will be built up in a far different manner than it was by the Bolsheviks. The Americans have got to do something about that situation. We are losing precious time, gentlemen, and these are unlimited possibilities to talk to people and tell them just what the ideals of America are.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Aren't the Russians by deceit trying to make the Ukrainians feel that they have attained their national independence? They are preaching nationalism to them while at the same time seeking to absorb them in their own empire of international communism.

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Yes; that is the point, just as you have put it. They are misusing the national idea.

Mr. FEIGHAN. By deceit?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Yes; the national idea is being perverted in order to make the Ukrainians a voluntary partner of bolshevism and Russian communism.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Is it true that when the German Wehrmacht invaded the Ukraine the Ukrainians looked on them as liberators in the first instance since they were promised such liberation by Hitler, and it was because they had pinned their hopes for national self that they laid down their arms and pleaded for the chance to fight the Bolsheviks and international communism?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. That is absolutely correct.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Don't you think that in the event of a third world war or even an internal struggle within the U. S. S. R., that given proper encouragement and help, that the same pattern would be followed by the Ukrainian people, that if they had assurance of an opportunity for national self-determination they would fight against the Russians?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. That is correct. What is the situation now? The captive nations of the Soviet Union, of the entire Bolshevik bloc, do not know what they should expect from the west. They do not know because nobody tells them. That means it is up to you, the Americans, to do that. What you might want after the Bolsheviks are defeated does not help very much because the people want to know what they are fighting for. They have expected from the German invaders that they might liberate them and give them a chance to build up a sovereign national state within the ethnographic boundaries, so they put down their arms and pleaded for the chance to destroy the Bolsheviks.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Don't you think that the policy of containment which was pronounced and advocated by George Kennan who had been in the State Department and former United States Ambassador to Moscow is a prime example of a sure method to sell out freedom and liberty everywhere in the world, because it fails to recognize that each individual nation has its national aspirations and they should each be entitled to self-determination?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. I do not know whether I am entitled to use the words "traitorous conduct," but it is politically thoroughly wrong. First of all this policy did not contain anybody. First they started a war in Korea, then they started war in Indochina, and are even now waging war in Guatemala. This policy does not contain anybody, it does not contain any Communist Party in the whole world.

Mr. FEIGHAN. To me it is a policy best calculated to preserve the predatory Russian Imperial Empire.

Mr. PELENSKYJ. That is their policy, the containment boys.

Mr. HILLINGS. Have the Communists by these mass murders and quite long period of domination pretty well succeeded in destroying the underground and resistance movements?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. After the Second World War there was a very strong armed resistance, and later I hope you will have an opportunity to hear something about that in more detail. This armed resistance could not be carried on indefinitely. The armed resistance then took another form, resistance of an ideologic and political nature. They are not fighting in open combat against the Bolshevik occupants because the odds are overwhelmingly against them. The police system of the Bolsheviks is too tight now that they have to be very cautious.

The Ukrainian independence fighters try to keep the spirit of the people alive in such a manner as to say, "Do not despair; one day liberation will come, the world has not forgotten us." Our idea is that one day they will be victorious, if they can keep up the fight by ways and means of ideas and keeping alive the hope for the future. The most powerful move would be spreading the idea that liberation means for Ukrainia and for other captive nations the construction of their national states within the ethnographic boundaries, and true international peace. What the Ukrainian underground movement workers and fighters are stressing is the idea of a United Nations, made up of all the nations. I realize, of course, that it would be foolish to ask a lot of people behind the Iron Curtain to engage in any open resistance at the present time when probably there is no immediate prospect of some good coming from it. I think it is terribly important that we encourage them to keep their hopes alive and keep this ideological resistance alive even though they cannot break out with force of arms, and to continue to work for the day when liberation will surely come.

Mr. HILLINGS. I would like to comment on this, because of the big news of today, and would like to state that all peoples behind the Iron Curtain can take additional heart because the Communists have suffered a great reversal in the little country of Guatemala, where the revolutionary forces have succeeded in throwing out the Communist government. I was in Guatemala 3 weeks ago making a survey of the political situation there for this committee. While I was down there I had the opportunity to talk to the Foreign Minister of the new Guatemalan Government and other officials of the revolutionary government, men who are in control of that country. I certainly did find that the leaders of this movement which has overthrown the pro-Communist government are strongly anticommunistic and are in favor of the democratic ideas and principles which we would like to see established in the entire world. If they carry out these principles in their fight against the pro-Communists it will be a great thing. One thing we can say today, the other people who testified before this committee, can certainly take heart on this 30th of June 1954 for the first time in a long while. Communism has suffered a reversal and one country which had fallen behind the little Iron Curtain, as we call it, has broken loose, I think it indicates that the day will come when other enslaved countries can be free, and we shall not lose heart and the people should not lose heart and should not think that their slavery is going to be for all time.

Mr. BUSBEY. As far as I can recall this is the first reversal the Communists have suffered since the civil war in Spain, when they fought it out with communism down there.

Mr. HILLINGS. It has been a long time and I think it is encouraging.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you feel that the same spirit of healthy nationalism that is in the hearts and minds of the true patriots of the Ukraine is still burning in the hearts and minds of the peoples captive in the 15 non-Russian nations within the U. S. S. R. as well as in Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Yes; they are very nationalistic and I am sure that this flame is burning very fiercely.

Mr. BUSBEY. I understand from your answer to one of Mr. Feighan's questions that not only the people of the Ukraine but all of the people

back of the Iron Curtain are waiting for a positive policy from the free world and the Western democracies but that they believe the policy to date has been very negative, and I personally think—and I am speaking now only for myself as an individual—that the policy of the Western powers, and that includes the United States, has been little more than a policy of waiting until the Soviets and the master-minds in the Kremlin have made a move. They have then tried a countermove. They have waited until the bandits in the Kremlin have acted, and then they have reacted. They have not had a definite and positive stand for stopping this program of world subversion. We have appropriated in the United States Congress billions upon billions of dollars for the purpose of stopping and containing communism. I say you cannot stop and contain communism with money alone; you must have a positive program. I, for one, hope that the testimony taken by this committee will bring all the people of the free world, and particularly of the United States, to a better understanding and recognition of the problem of communism. I hope that they will be more resistant to the influence of communism and less willing to believe the Communist propaganda which always attempts to discredit and smear those who are fighting it. It is my earnest prayer that this will lead to the formulation and adoption of a positive program which will actually stop and defeat communism.

Mr. KERSTEN. Just a question or two before you leave, Mr. Pelenskyj. Were you a citizen of Vinnitsa, is that your hometown?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. No; I went to Vinnitsa in 1944.

Mr. KERSTEN. Did you live somewhere near that town?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. I was living in the town of Vinnitsa constantly at that time, from maybe March or April 1943 to September.

Mr. KERSTEN. Before that time, did you come from that area?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. No; I did not.

Mr. KERSTEN. You did come to know some of the people of Vinnitsa after you got there, did you?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Yes; I did.

Mr. KERSTEN. Did any of the people talk about a time or an occasion when many of these victims were massacred, or was there some general knowledge about that fact on the part of the people in that area?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. There was a general knowledge among the population that in the years 1937 and 1938 there had been mass arrests and the people so arrested never returned.

Mr. KERSTEN. Was it one of these situations where the NKVD goes to the houses at midnight and picks up the men of the family and spirits them away without any warning; that type of situation?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Exactly.

Mr. KERSTEN. In other words was that experience on the part of the people pretty well known, the fact that these men had been picked up?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Yes; and the people had been talking, whispering among themselves, they were afraid.

Mr. KERSTEN. When you arrived, there was still a memory that a large number of men had been picked up?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. It was a very vivid memory and people talked about that.

Mr. KERSTEN. The men had been picked up?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. That is right.

Mr. KERSTEN. And it was at that time in 1937 and 1938, so that that memory on their part coincided with the other facts, the findings of the doctors and scientists as to when these men were murdered, these victims were murdered?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Yes.

Mr. KERSTEN. Do you believe that the United States or any free country should continue diplomatic relations with the criminal Red gangsters at the Kremlin?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. It is hard to answer this question. I believe that this sort of diplomatic relation is now a bit too much, is going too far.

Mr. KERSTEN. You do think that the Red regime represents the nations of the Soviet Union?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. No.

Mr. KERSTEN. You do think that the delegate in the United Nations for the Communists speaks on behalf of the Ukrainians or the Byelorussians or even the Russian people?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Absolutely not.

Mr. KERSTEN. He does not represent them?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. No.

Mr. KERSTEN. Therefore he should be kicked out?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Yes. Of course.

Mr. KERSTEN. They should have a voice in the U. N., should they not, the peoples, the Nations of the Soviet Union?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Yes, they should have a voice but I refuse to recognize the present delegates to the U. N. as a representative of the Ukraine.

Mr. KERSTEN. You have also said that you do not believe there can be peaceful coexistence between the Reds and the free nations. Do you not think that talking about peaceful coexistence with the Reds is like speaking of coexistence of cancer and a healthy organism, a peaceful coexistence of fire and gunpowder, or coexistence of sulfuric acid and stomach lining?

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Absolutely. It is futile.

Mr. KERSTEN. I want to say in regard to the remarks of Congressman Hillings, who recently went down to Guatemala for this committee, that it is a great thing that they have thrown out the Reds as we learned today. When the Reds claim any efforts on the part of the free nations to help these people regain their independence, either Ukraine or the other captive nations of Eastern Europe or any other country is interfering in the internal affairs of those countries, it is just like a burglar who is in the process of throttling his victim and then the friend of the victim appears at the window and the burglar says, "Don't interfere with the sanctity of this home." It is the Communists who are interfering in the internal affairs of all these countries.

Mr. PELENSKYJ. Yes.

Mr. KERSTEN. Thank you; you have made a great contribution to our hearings.

Mr. Pavlo Pavlenko was called and duly sworn and testified through the Ukrainian interpreter as follows:

TESTIMONY OF PAVLO PAVLENKO

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you born?

Mr. PAVLENKO. In the village of Tyranivka, Ukraina.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you a resident of Vinnitsa from 1930 to 1944?

Mr. PAVLENKO. I lived in the city of Vinnitsa for 11 years, until the first half of 1944.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you in the town of Vinnitsa when the NKVD established themselves there?

Mr. PAVLENKO. Yes, I was.

Mr. McTIGUE. What year was that?

Mr. PAVLENKO. They came much earlier, in fact they came in the year 1919 to Vinnitsa.

Mr. McTIGUE. Can you tell us how the NKVD was established in Vinnitsa?

Mr. PAVLENKO. I cannot relate about the organization of the Vinnitsa NKVD, the way that they were established, but I can relate the external effects of their operation in Vinnitsa.

Mr. McTIGUE. Will you do that please?

Mr. PAVLENKO. In Vinnitsa the NKVD occupied a whole section of the city. It is difficult for me to say what was going on on the inside. All entrances to their offices or their private quarters were guarded by armed NKVD men.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did any of the people who were arrested by the NKVD and who entered that building ever come out of the building, that you know?

Mr. PAVLENKO. There were sometimes extraordinary cases where there were such returnees, but there were cases of people having been arrested by the NKVD having been confined in the building for several days and then were released. What functions were assigned to them or what was said to them while they were in the building, I do not know. If there were instances where an individual was released by the NKVD, prior to the release he was compelled to sign a declaration to remain absolutely silent as to the reason for his arrest and the treatment he received while in confinement.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did relatives of people who were arrested by the NKVD inquire of the NKVD what happened to them or to their beloved ones or relatives?

Mr. PAVLENKO. The mother of my daughter-in-law, after her husband had been arrested for crimes unknown to her, inquired of the NKVD why he was arrested and when he would be released. She was given only the answer that he had been sentenced to 10 years without the right of correspondence, and in 1943 when the mass graves of Vinnitsa were uncovered, this lady found the cap of her husband among remnants of people who had been murdered in Vinnitsa.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did the townspeople of Vinnitsa ever see large trucks leaving the NKVD building at night?

Mr. PAVLENKO. The orchard beyond the town where later frightful things were discovered was guarded by a large fence and the activities behind that fence were not known to the people, as this was a closely guarded forbidden zone. The people, because of the terror imposed by the NKVD, were not very interested because of their fear in what

it was told to me by one individual that as he was walking late in the evening, I believe 11 p. m., from his job at the mill, he was near the entrance to the orchard. He was passing by this entrance and suddenly a truck, a vehicle, passed by him very swiftly and the tail-board of this truck entering the orchard caught onto one of the gate-posts and fell open and this millworker saw through the open tailgate that on the floor of the truck were many corpses.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you present when the mass graves were dug up concerning which Mr. Pelenskyj has just testified?

Mr. PAVLENKO. I lived in Vinnitsa at that time and I myself was present at these graves, and my son was a member of the Ukrainian commission investigating these graves. My son is now in the United States, in Altoona, Pa., U. S. A.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were there any indications that some of these people were buried alive?

Mr. PAVLENKO. I saw people being taken out of these graves, corpses whose mouths were filled with soil. This is some indication they were buried alive.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were any of your relatives found in the mass graves?

Mr. PAVLENKO. The mother of my daughter-in-law found her husband's cap. In this grave were also 169 women, most of whom were naked; 20 of these women were identified.

Mr. McTIGUE. That is all the questions I have, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. BUSBEY. Thank you very much. We appreciate your testimony.

Mr. BONIN. I would like to comment that his son picked out the greatest State in the United States to live in, Altoona, Pa., the State I live in.

Mr. PAVLENKO. My son also wrote a book on the Vinnitsa case and is still working further in this connection. He might also be used by the Kersten committee in the United States for the purpose of giving testimony.

(Mr. Ihor Zhurlyvy was called and duly sworn and testified through the Ukrainian interpreter as follows:)

Mr. McTIGUE. Your name is Ihor Zhurlyvy?

TESTIMONY OF IHOR ZHURLYVY

Mr. ZHURLYVY. That is my pen name.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you born, Mr. Zhurlyvy?

Mr. ZHURLYVY. I was born in Odessa, the largest city of southern Ukraine.

Mr. McTIGUE. Are you an author?

Mr. ZHURLYVY. I work in my profession as a journalist.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you first hear of the exhumations of bodies which was being undertaken in Vinnitsa?

Mr. ZHURLYVY. In June 1943.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you living at that time?

Mr. ZHURLYVY. I lived at that time in Kirivohard, that is a city approximately 100 kilometers to the west of Vinnitsa.

Mr. McTIGUE. That is about 75 miles?

Mr. ZHURLYVY. That is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is it true that your father had been arrested in 1938 by the NKVD?

Mr. ZHURLYVY. Yes; my father was arrested in March 1938 in Odessa.

Mr. McTIGUE. Why?

Mr. ZHURLYVY. I have here copies of two Odessa newspapers in which can be found a reply to your question.

Mr. McTIGUE. Briefly, will you tell us why he was arrested?

Mr. ZHURLYVY. My father was arrested just as thousands, yes, millions of other Ukrainians, for the reason that he loved the Ukraine too much. Such Ukrainians were called bourgeois nationalists by the Bolsheviks. I have a newspaper printed in Odessa in 1937 in which there are items attacking bourgeois nationalists and naming them. Amongst them is the name of my father. If I may be permitted to do so, I would like to read several sentences from this particular newspaper article.

Mr. McTIGUE. Will you identify the name of the journal, please, and the date?

Mr. ZHURLYVY. It is the newspaper Moloda-Gvardia of September 24, 1937. This article says in part:

In the State university there is no struggle being waged against bourgeois nationalism. These snakes ought to be cornered everywhere they are found. The bourgeois nationalists attempted to sabotage us in all branches of the building of Socialist life. They are hindering the development of Ukrainian Socialist culture. They are sabotaging the preparation of the Bolshevik academy. The nationalist saboteurs have infiltrated into the organs of national education in all the Ukraine. They even have found their way and have infiltrated into the Odessa State University.

From this article it can be seen that the fighters for Ukrainian life and culture, Ukrainian patriots were doing their work, and from this article it can be seen that the Ukrainian people fought not only against the Communist system but for their own independent united Ukrainian state. My father belonged to these Ukrainians who wanted an independent Ukraine and for this reason he was arrested.

Mr. McTIGUE. After he was arrested, did your mother ever make any inquiry concerning his whereabouts?

Mr. ZHURLYVY. After my father's arrest my mother was arrested, but she was imprisoned only for 3 or 4 months. She was released from prison on December 31, 1938. After her release she began to bombard the Soviet organs, especially the office of the state prosecutor at Moscow with letters concerning the whereabouts of my father. Some of these letters remained unanswered, to others she received a reply. Here in my hand I have replies of the various offices to the letters written by my mother. This one is a standard form letter, the same type of an answer was received by people in Odessa, Kiev, Vinnitsa, and other cities of the Ukraine. I have a photostatic copy of a letter received by one Ukrainian lady from the state prosecutor's office in Moscow. In this letter she received a reply that her husband had been sentenced and that the matter would not be looked into a second time, and my mother received the same type of standard form answer also from Moscow. This woman recognized the body of her husband in Vinnitsa.

Mr. McTIGUE. What woman was that?

Mr. ZHURLYVY. I am referring to the woman whom I mentioned as having written to Moscow and whose letter of reply I have here, a photostatic copy. I could let you make photostatic copies for the record. I request that you make photostatic copies also of this news-

paper article and put the photostatic copies in the record. They are very important historical documents.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask that the replies which the various women received from Moscow and from NKVD sources regarding the inquiries they made with respect to the whereabouts of their loved ones and their husbands be marked for identification and be made a part of the record. These in accordance with the witness' request will be photostated and the originals thereof which he just presented will be returned to him.

Mr. BUSBEY. Without any objection it is so ordered.

Mr. McTIGUE. Was the reason that you proceeded to Vinnitsa from your hometown or the place in which you were living, 75 miles from Vinnitsa, that you heard about the mass graves and wanted to find out whether there was any evidence as to your father possibly being a victim at Vinnitsa?

Mr. ZHURLYVY. I hardly expected to find the body of my father in the Vinnitsa graves, because Vinnitsa is quite a distance away from Odessa, and people who were executed in Odessa were very probably buried somewhere in the vicinity of Odessa and not in Vinnitsa, but I hurried to Vinnitsa because I wanted to find there an answer to the question of what happened to my father after his arrest, and I received such an answer in Vinnitsa. I spoke with many wives who recognized the bodies of their husbands. All these wives had been informed by the arresting authorities that their husbands had been sentenced to 10 years in far away territories without the right of correspondence. Most of this information was given verbally. A year after my father's arrest a coworker of the NKVD came to our home in Odessa and told me that my father had been arrested and sentenced to 10 years exile in a far-off country and had been deprived of the right of correspondence. The same was told me that had also been told the wives of Vinnitsa, who later found the bodies of their husbands in the excavations of Vinnitsa. This NKVD agent came to our home with a large, thick book under his arm. In this book were lists of people and on this list was my father's name.

This NKVD man, I assume from what I saw, had the assignment of going to all the families of the arrested people on the list and informing them their respective family member had been sentenced for 10 years without the right of correspondence. After my father's arrest, I no longer received any news from him. Approximately 14 months after my father's arrest and sentence my mother was at home, at the time the agent of the NKVD came to our house again. The NKVD came this time to confiscate the personal property of my father. They looked for my father's clothing, but we lived very poorly in Odessa. We were in poor circumstances and they found very little. Therefore, they appropriated my suit. They were convinced that this suit was the property of my father, but in reality I had purchased this suit for myself several months before. It was too big for me, because my particular size at that time was not available in the stores. My father was taller, larger than I am. The NKVD looked at the suit, saw that it was too big for me and believed it to be the property of my father, and took it with them. They took away my only good suit which I had bought from my own money. Confiscation of personal property of arrestees was also carried out in Vinnitsa. On the basis of these facts, I have every reason to believe that my father met

the same fate as those people whose bodies were uncovered in the graves of Vinnitsa. We have also received information later to the effect that during the war in Odessa there were uncovered similar mass graves. Odessa at that time was under Rumanian occupation. The Rumanians forbade the publication of data dealing with the finding of mass graves of arrestees in Odessa. About these mass graves in Odessa we learned only several weeks ago.

Mr. McTIGUE. When you say "several weeks ago" do you mean several weeks ago today?

Mr. ZHURLYVY. Several weeks ago today, we discovered that in Odessa were found mass graves. We have found a witness who saw these mass graves near Odessa and I have every reason in the world to believe that my father had been murdered in Odessa and buried in the same way as those unfortunates in Vinnitsa.

Mr. McTIGUE. You say you just discovered this brand new, fresh evidence of mass graves in Odessa?

Mr. ZHURLYVY. Yes; several weeks ago an article appeared in an emigrant newspaper which is published here in Munich.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you say there is an eyewitness available?

Mr. ZHURLYVY. Yes; this witness who saw the mass graves in Odessa is presently living here in Germany.

Mr. McTIGUE. What is his name and where is he?

Mr. ZHURLYVY. In this room there is an individual who knows more about this matter than I do. I ask you to inquire of this person.

Mr. McTIGUE. I would like to get this clarified on the record. Is it only a few weeks ago that these graves were actually discovered or was it only a few weeks ago the newspaper article about the discovery appeared?

Mr. ZHURLYVY. Several weeks ago the newspaper article about the discovery was published. The exhumations took place in Odessa during the war, but those who knew of this maintained a strange silence for all this time.

Mr. McTIGUE. What was the eventual fate of your father? Have you ever been able to pin it down?

Mr. ZHURLYVY. No. I received no official information as to his fate other than the standard form replies about which I have spoken already.

Mr. McTIGUE. You saw the mass graves when you arrived in Vinnitsa and you saw the exhumations that Mr. Pelenskyj has just testified to here previously?

Mr. ZHURLYVY. I arrived in Vinnitsa on the same day when the International Committee on Forensic Medicine began its work. I was an eyewitness as to how this commission worked.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did this commission actually open the graves itself or people under its direction do it?

Mr. ZHURLYVY. When the commission arrived the graves had already been opened. Other graves were just being opened at that time. The commission came to Vinnitsa at the actual time of the opening of some of the graves. The members of the commission themselves directed what bodies or corpses were to be taken out of the graves and they personally conducted an inspection of the bodies. The examination was generally conducted in the following manner: The head was cut open—I am describing what I saw with my own eyes—and the bullets taken out. Then various other types of exam-

inations were held. Also the members of the commission interrogated Ukrainian wives who had recognized bodies of husbands.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were the townspeople of Vinnitsa allowed to watch the exhumation?

Mr. ZHURLYVY. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did the people of Vinnitsa demand that the bodies be exhibited?

Mr. ZHURLYVY. Yes, and in spite of the fact there was a terrible stink in the air thousands of people came to view the bodies.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you present when Mr. Pelenskyj testified this morning?

Mr. ZHURLYVY. I was present, but I am sorry to say that I do not understand English.

Mr. KERSTEN. Were you a resident of Vinnitsa?

Mr. ZHURLYVY. No, I came especially to Vinnitsa to see these mass graves and I was there for 4 days.

Mr. KERSTEN. Had you heard back in 1937 and 1938 of the fact many men were arrested in addition to your father?

Mr. ZHURLYVY. Many others were arrested—in fact, other close members of my family.

Mr. KERSTEN. Was that in 1937 and 1938?

Mr. ZHURLYVY. My mother and father were arrested in 1938.

Mr. McTIGUE. There is one more question I wanted for the record. What is the date of your birth?

Mr. ZHURLYVY. May 22, 1917.

Mr. McTIGUE. That is all.

Mr. KERSTEN. Thank you.

Ivan Rudenko, a Ukrainian national, was called as a witness, was sworn, and testified through the interpreter in Ukrainian, as follows:)

Mr. McTIGUE. Your name is Ivan Rudenko?

TESTIMONY OF IVAN RUDENKO

Mr. RUDENKO. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you born, Mr. Rudenko?

Mr. RUDENKO. In the village of Chajiw, Vinnitsa District.

Mr. McTIGUE. In what year?

Mr. RUDENKO. I was born on the 5th of February 1892, in Vinnitsa.

Mr. McTIGUE. Isn't it true, Mr. Rudenko, that in the years 1918 and 1919 you were a sergeant in the First Cavalry Regiment, Second Company, in the Ukrainian National Army?

Mr. RUDENKO. Yes; it is true.

Mr. McTIGUE. And that at this time you took part in battles against the Bolsheviks and that you were wounded twice?

Mr. RUDENKO. Yes; I took part in the campaign all the way from Kiev to Vinnitsa until I was wounded.

Mr. McTIGUE. In 1932 you were a peasant and owned a small farm in the Ukraine; is that correct?

Mr. RUDENKO. Yes; that is true.

Mr. McTIGUE. In 1932 was your property collectivized by the Communists?

Mr. RUDENKO. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. What happened to you and your family?

Mr. RUDENKO. As soon as they took my farm I contacted friends and got a job on the railroad and began working on the railroad.

Mr. McTIGUE. How many children did you have when you were run off the farm?

Mr. RUDENKO. Eight children.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you lose all of your property?

Mr. RUDENKO. I lost everything; nothing remained.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did there come a time in June of 1933 when you were arrested by the NKVD?

Mr. RUDENKO. When they discovered I was working on the railroad they came and arrested me and also arrested the railroad officials who had given me the job.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you, like so many other people, charged with being an enemy of the people?

Mr. RUDENKO. Yes, and, of course, since I had only fought against the Bolsheviks that was the only interpretation they could give that I was an enemy of the people.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you tortured following your arrest?

Mr. RUDENKO. My fingers were squeezed between the door. I was struck in the face and head with the butt of a revolver. I was thrown in the water. I was frequently beaten, and I was subjected to every other type of torture.

Mr. McTIGUE. What was your sentence finally?

Mr. RUDENKO. Five years.

Mr. McTIGUE. What happened to the two men that helped you get a job on the railroad?

Mr. RUDENKO. They were also sentenced.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you serve your sentence?

Mr. RUDENKO. As I was being transferred from the Uman prison to another place of confinement, we were a group of 400 prisoners, I managed to escape by losing myself in the crowd of onlookers that had gathered on the sides of the road to watch the passing prisoners.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you witness the exhuming of the bodies from the mass graves of Vinnitsa in 1943?

Mr. RUDENKO. Yes, I was there.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you living in Vinnitsa or nearby at that time?

Mr. RUDENKO. I had already returned to the village of Chajky, which is in the Vinnitsa district very close to the town of Vinnitsa itself.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you recognize any of the bodies of the people who were exhumed?

Mr. RUDENKO. I recognized the body of the stationmaster, Tymofijew.

Mr. McTIGUE. How were you able to recognize his body?

Mr. RUDENKO. I recognized his clothing, which was hanging suspended by wires. And also, I recognized the body of the other railroadman, Harburzenko.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you can testify here that while you were present at the exhuming of the bodies in Vinnitsa that hundreds and hundreds of bodies were exhumed in your presence?

Mr. RUDENKO. I can testify to that and also I can testify to the fact in two Vinnitsa jails the prisoners were bound with barbed wire and entombed alive in the walls.

Mr. McTIGUE. How did you know this?

Mr. RUDENKO. I discovered this from the wife of a bricklayer who had been summoned by the NKVD authorities to seal the windows and the doors with cement, that is, of this prison where these men were entombed alive. After the bricklayer finished the job he was executed by the NKVD and his wife found his body later in Vinnitsa.

Mr. McTIGUE. Any questions?

Mr. BUSBEY. No, sir.

Mr. KERSTEN. Thank you.

(Fedir Pihido, a Ukrainian national, was called as a witness, was sworn and testified through an interpreter in Ukrainian, as follows:)

Mr. McTIGUE. Your name is Fedir P. Pihido?

TESTIMONY OF FEDIR P. PIHIDO

Mr. PIHIDO. Right.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you born and in what year?

Mr. PIHIDO. In the village of Stajky in the Kiev region in the year 1888.

Mr. McTIGUE. During the years of 1932 to 1933 you were working in the Kiev Trust, which is a building materials firm, as chief of construction, is that correct?

Mr. PIHIDO. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And in this capacity you did a great deal of traveling all over Ukraine, is that correct?

Mr. PIHIDO. Yes, that is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. In the course of your business travel in the years of 1932 and 1933 can you tell us briefly some of the things you saw?

Mr. PIHIDO. During my travels throughout the Ukraine and especially in Kiev I saw masses of tattered, exhausted peasants who had come into the city in search of bread and fruit. They wanted to buy bread or to exchange their personal items for bread. In that year was begun the sale of commercial bread without ration cards. This bread was sold in special stores for 3 karbovenic. The state price was 90 kopeks per kilo. This bread was also bought by the peasants in the market places where they paid 25 to 30 karbovenic per kilo, which was the equivalent of 3 or 4 days' salary of an average middle-class worker. These people were rounded up by armed members of the peasants and workers militia and herded out beyond the city limits. Those who were too exhausted to walk were loaded onto trucks and taken outside the city and thrown into ditches like so much driftwood where they for the most part died.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were the harvests in the Ukraine in 1932 and 1933 up to par?

Mr. PIHIDO. The wheat harvest that year was the equivalent of 14 million tons. In order to give you a basis for comparison I want to tell you that in 1928 the total wheat harvest was 12 million tons. In 1924, the year of a relatively severe drought, the harvest was approximately 10 million tons. These statistics and materials are from official Soviet sources.

Mr. McTIGUE. So that the harvest for the years 1932 and 1933 were better than par and better than the average years, is that right?

Mr. PIHIDO. Much better, for example, say than in 1924 or 1928.

Mr. McTIGUE. If that is the case, how do you explain these terrible famine conditions that you have just been describing during the course of your testimony?

Mr. PIHIDO. I will demonstrate this to you, and that my statistics are factual and correct. I can call upon the various Soviet publications which I have mentioned in a statement which I have prepared. In Kiev almost daily while en route to work I saw how trucks or horse-drawn vans were busily engaged in gathering up corpses. I was an eyewitness of how a mother, wanting to save the life of her infant child, placed the little baby on a stranger's doorstep, but while doing this and attempting to flee, was apprehended and killed by the militia. I often went by automobile on my journeys about the countryside. And along the roadside I saw the bodies of those who had died while going somewhere in search of bread. In the spring of 1933 I was assigned to go on official business to Moscow. I lived for 2 weeks in Moscow in a first-class hotel and every day I had the opportunity of eating whatever I would want to order. During the course of the working day I dined in ordinary workers' cafeterias. In these canteens I could get at a very low cost anything I cared to choose, including meat, and my choice of black or white bread. In 1933 my entire family lived in my home village, the village of Stajky. Every week I brought them food from Kiev. In the village I saw people who were swollen, people who were totally exhausted, people whose skin had dried up from which there was evidences of hunger and exhaustion. I saw how corpses were gathered up in the villages and transported to the cemetery. They were dumped into a deep pit just like a pile of wood. In 1934 I was assigned to go on a business matter to Cherkas, and I saw a long column of settlers. They were coming in from North Caucasia and from areas beyond the Volga to resettle in the areas which had been depopulated as a result of the famine in the Ukraine.

In the spring of 1935 I was at the railroad station in Jahotyn, Poltava Province, and I saw a large transport of settlers from the Kaluga Administrative District, who were being brought in to resettle districts in the south of the Ukraine. In 1939 and 1940 one could observe the following over all the Ukraine. A school crisis was proclaimed. In the lower classes of the elementary schools there was a shortage of pupils. I had many friends amongst the schoolteachers because until 1930 my wife had also been a schoolteacher. Therefore, I had an opportunity to discover the reasons for this crisis. In many villages elementary and primary schools were even sometimes completely closed down because there were just no children. The reason for this is the fact the death rate was especially high amongst infants. In total, the number of victims of the famine in the Ukraine in the years 1932 and 1933 can be estimated as having reached as high as 6 or 7 million. It is impossible to speak of official statistics because from 1933 there was no publication of vital statistics. My good friend, who worked in the Ukrainian Academy of Science on the faculty of social hygiene, for whom vital statistics are the basis of their work, did not receive any statistics about the birth and death rate in the Ukraine. The famine was induced as a method of political warfare. The famine was artificially induced on the basis of a previously prepared plan. In addition to what I have said about the extent of the harvest, which was more than sufficient to feed the Ukrainian population, I want to enumerate several further arguments which will prove that the famine in the Ukraine was the result of a premeditated predetermined plan. Firstly, the plan for the delivery of grain quotas.

For example, the delivery of grain quotas was based not on the actual amount of grain that was shown, cultivated, and harvested but on the plan of the amount of grain which should have been sown, which was conceived by the state authorities.

After the execution of this specially severe plan for the delivery of grain quotas in November of this same year another plan was brought into effect. After Christmas a regulation came out requiring the delivery of surpluses. The confiscation of grain was in the hands of especially organized brigades, which acted on delivery on the orders of the Kremlin. Each of the brigades was under the command of special military units or of special units of the NKVD. Another fact which indicates that this was a planned famine is the fact that the reserves which were generally stored on the premises of the collective farms, this time was shipped out of the collective farms elsewhere, generally into the Russian cities. In order not to give the peasants an opportunity to receive a bread ration, for workers would receive such a bread ration, it was unofficially announced, that is, through the method of secret directives it was forbidden to accept for work in the cities peasants from the suburbs and immediate vicinity of the city in order to prevent these peasants from receiving bread. In 1933 Moscow announced that these difficulties—they did not mention famines—but that these difficulties arose because the regulations were not properly carried into effect, but such a declaration can easily be refuted by stating that in the western areas of the Russian Soviet Republic there were colossal grain reserves. These grain reserves were so large that in various places in the Russian Republic along the roadside one could see huge piles of grain stored in the open air. If there had not been bad faith there would have been an opportunity to extend assistance to the population. This is also proven by the fact that when the famine in the Ukraine was at its peak large quantities of grain were exported by the Russians from the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov to countries abroad, the so-called dumping places.

One can now assume that the Ukrainian Communist government did not know of these secret plans of Moscow because in the spring of 1932 the Ukrainian Soviet government put the following questions to the government Moscow: They stated to Moscow that Ukraine stood under threat of a famine, that the grain delivery quotas are too great, that collectivization is proceeding at too rapid a rate, and that in order to avoid catastrophe it would be necessary to immediately return grain and food to the Ukraine. This demand infuriated the Kremlin and they replied by requesting the immediate convening of a party conference in the Ukraine. As representatives of Moscow, the Politburo delegated Vyacheslav Molotov and Lazar Kaganovich. The Ukrainian Government, in order to prove its allegations, delegated Ulas Chubar and Mykola Skrybnik to make a journey through many of the Ukrainian districts. On the basis of the information and material that they gathered, a great political trial was called into being, which is known as the Drabon case. At this trial it was shown the terrible corruption at places in unending terror. By disregarding the evidence presented at the trial, the third party conference, which took place from the 6th to the 8th of July, ended with the murderous declaration of Molotov, "We will not make any concessions; the plan of the party must be carried into effect." Within a week the Ukrainian National Economic Counsel replied with a demon-

strative resolution. The quota for meat delivery established by Moscow, 16,000 tons, was reduced by them to 11,000 tons. This was a challenge to Moscow. This was the reason why all the members of the Ukrainian Communist government and all the members of the Ukrainian Politburo were later completely liquidated.

Mr. McTIGUE. How many people died as a result of this famine?

Mr. PIHIDO. According to unofficial statistics, the number of victims can be placed between six and seven million. As I have previously stated, official statistics are not available, but we have statistics that is evidence as to the total who died based on the census of 1926 and then again on the census of 1938.

Mr. McTIGUE. Concerning the testimony you have just given, which is very detailed and excellent testimony, how were you able to get these figures? What is the source of the testimony which you have given, the basis of the testimony?

Mr. PIHIDO. All these sources are revealed in my statement which I request the committee to accept into the record.

Mr. McTIGUE. I think, Mr. Chairman, if I may make a suggestion, that we accept this statement as part of the record, since it is detailed and gives the various sources of the material he has so well presented to the committee.

Mr. BUSBEY. Without objection, we will accept it in the record at this point, with the reservation that the statement will be available for any of the members of the committee to read.

(The statement is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF FEDIR M. PIHIDO, ENGINEER AND ECONOMIST, LIVING AT NEU-ULM, FINNINGERSTR. 30/0, AND AN EYEWITNESS TO STALIN'S FAMINE IN THE UKRAINE

FAMINE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF SOVIET POLITICAL WARFARE

Famine as a method of political warfare, as a means of pressure against the population of the Ukrainian S. S. R., was utilized by the Russian occupation government in the Ukraine during the period 1921-22 and in 1933.

The period 1921-22

In the period 1921-22, taking advantage of the poor harvest result of a drought which prevailed over the southern provinces of the Ukraine (extending also up to the Volga) Moscow took measures to increase the misery caused by this natural evil. In the autumn of 1921, in the southern steppe regions of the Ukraine, a famine began. This was known to both the local and the central organs of the Government, but in spite of it, the occupation authorities requisitioned grain from the people of the stricken area and transported it elsewhere. Furthermore, when the American relief agency, ARA, organized famine relief, the occupation authorities hindered them in their activities by all possible means and, denying the prevalence of hunger in the Ukraine, directed food transports from Kiev to the Volga area, although at that time the number of people stricken by drought had reached the 10 million mark. All this is reported in detail by a well-known American, Prof. H. Fischer, who at that time was in the Ukraine. Reference is made to his book, *The Famine in Soviet Russia*, printed in New York in 1927. Official statistics as to the number of victims of this famine are not available as for obvious reasons they were not published by the Soviet Government. According to various sources, the number of persons who died from hunger in the Ukraine can be placed at 1½ million. Reference is made to P. Fedenko's *Ukrainian Civic Movement in the 20th Century*. Also, no one disputes the fact of famine in 1921 or the many cases of cannibalism. This is indirectly admitted even by the Soviet Government which tries to minimize it and to conceal its own role in stimulating an increase in the famine's effect. I mention this tragedy of long ago only for the purpose of showing how the Russian occupation government took advantage of a natural evil and by artificial means increased its effects in furtherance of its political purposes so that by such

large-scale physical destruction the resistance of the nationally conscious elements of the population would be destroyed in all areas of the Ukraine.

1932-33

Moscow employed famine as a political weapon against the Ukrainians for a second time in the years 1932-33, with this difference, that this time the famine was in its entirety artificially induced and organized. It was the result of a well worked-out plan which was to take in the entire Ukrainian S. S. R. and the Kuban districts which had a Ukrainian population. The famine of 1932-33 was an integral part of the plan for carrying out the general policies of the Russian occupation government in the Ukraine. Actually, the famine of 1933 is another phase in the struggle waged by the Ukrainian peasantry, but the nationally conscious portion of the workers, by the Ukrainian intelligentsia, the Ukrainian revolutionary youth, and also a certain portion of nationally conscious Ukrainian Communists. "Famine in Stalin's name" as it was called by the Ukrainian peasantry was merely the culminating point, denouement of the struggle of the Ukrainian people for the right to live on its own land, for the right to work freely, for the product of its labors, and right to its native tongue; in other words, a struggle for its existence as a nation. The period of the co-called NEP (new economic policy), 1922-29, was used by the Kremlin to strengthen its authority, especially in the villages, and for the development of a police apparatus. When the entire Soviet Union and, especially the non-Russian republics, were covered by a thick network of party and Komsomol organizations, by millions of SEKSOTY (secret workers for the NKVD), when the cadre of the workers' and peasants' militia was organized (over $\frac{1}{2}$ million in strength), when special military units of the NKVD, then the OGPU, were established, when finally the formation of the Red army was completed, the Kremlin, as personified in Stalin, began an offensive on a wide front against the small property owners in the villages and against private property holders in general and, at the same time, against the Ukrainian national culture and its exponents. Already in the latter half of the 1920's one could notice an increase of pressure upon the village. The villager was forced to enter a "voluntary contract" to sell his bread to the state, to voluntarily sell other private produce for extraordinarily low prices. At the same time he was forced to "volunteer" to subscribe to public loans. The 15th congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party in December 1927 accepted a program for "voluntary collectivization." The 16th party conference in April 1929 confirmed the so-called optimal variant of the 1st Stalinist 5-year plan, i. e., a plan for the general industrialization of the country. At the same time the party conference proclaimed the beginning of large-scale collectivization of agriculture. It is then that NEP is in the last days. NEPmans (private businessmen and industrialists), through a special system of progressive income taxes, were first ruined financially and then arrested and deported to the Solovetsky Islands.

Trade and small industry at first was taken over by cooperatives but the Ukrainian cooperatives, because of their organizational structure, were autonomy-minded. This would have constituted a danger to the party bureaucracy and its absolutism and, therefore, in a very short time, the cooperators, in the footsteps of the NEP men, were deported by the thousands to the Solowky and other concentration camps which were growing ever thicker in the northern areas of the U. S. S. R. The state now assumed complete control of commerce and industry. On the 27th of December 1929 Stalin announced a new drive for the liquidation of the "kurkuls." This was supplemented by a special resolution of the central committee of the Communist Party on January 5, 1930, entitled, "In the Matter of Speed of Collectivization and Measures To Aid the State in the Development of Collectives." In practice, this gave impetus to the large-scale physical destruction of the strongest and most productive middle-class elements of the peasantry. Special decrees and Government decisions as to the way in which this liquidation of the kurkuls was to be carried out were never publicly proclaimed. This tremendous program was carried out in its entirety on the basis of secret administrative directives. Furthermore, in relation to this program, every administrative region was bound by a quota, i. e., to liquidate as kurkuls a specified number of farmers, which varied according to area. Also, under the cover of liquidating border line kurkuls or psychological kurkuls, nationally conscious elements in the villages and the Ukrainian intelligentsia were systematically destroyed. Concurrently a widespread forced collectivization of the villages. The brutal application of force aroused great resentment among the peasants. In order to safeguard himself against a possible

general uprising, Stalin was forced to publish his well-known article *Dizy From Success*, which appeared in *Pravda* No. 60, March 2, 1930. But after a short period of relaxation the pressure was again increased. The widespread use of terror gave results. In 1929 farmlands in the Ukraine were collectivized to the extent of 5.6 percent. In 1931, this figure jumped to 64.7 percent.

I wish to draw special attention to the fact that in bringing about collectivization, Moscow brought special pressure to bear upon the national republics (non-Russian) to which fact the following statistics testify:

Dynamic collectivization of peasant farms (in percent)

	1929	1932	1934
Russian S. S. R.....	3.7	60.3	72.0
Ukrainian S. S. R.....	5.6	66.0	78.0
Uzbek S. S. R.....	2.6	73.2	79.9
For the whole U. S. S. R.....	3.9	61.5	71.4

¹ 1933.

It is worthy of note that in the Russian S. S. R., where the people had long ago become accustomed to this type of economy and where the opposition to collectivization was considerably weaker, the percentage of collectivized farms was lower than in many other Republics of the U. S. S. R. Ukrainian peasants at all times offered desperate resistance to these measures of Moscow. But the Kremlin had already decided upon the complete collectivization of the Ukraine through which it hoped to assure the execution of the 5-year plan for industrialization which was one step in its preparation for war and the conquest of the world.

It was at this time that in the secret chambers of the Kremlin was born a plan for the greatest act of terrorism in human history, a plan to intentionally and artificially induce a mass famine. Another reason for the planning of this famine, and this was the main reason, was to eliminate the process of Ukrainian national rebirth which had made great strides during the years of relatively free national and cultural development which Moscow, because of its weakness, was forced to temporarily tolerate. This process despite all sorts of efforts and varied measures, the Bolsheviks had not been able to restrain. This was highly dangerous to Moscow's imperialistic plans. In consequence, Kremlin planned to destroy the will of an entire nation, to bring an end to its spiritual and cultural development, and to forever reduce the Ukrainian nation to a colonial status. This could be done only through the destruction of Ukrainian cultural and educational institutions, by the physical annihilation of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, the creators of the Ukrainian renaissance. This could be accomplished most effectively through the execution of plans for an artificially induced famine.

The Government of the Ukrainian S. S. R., it is clear, was not acquainted with Moscow's well-concealed plans for the famine. The Ukrainian government had on numerous occasions questioned Moscow and complained about the inapplicability of the "new course" for the Ukraine, about the tempo of collectivization, the delivery of grain quotas. It insisted that such a policy would lead to catastrophe and famine and demanded, in the spring of 1932, the following:

- (1) A decrease in the tempo of collectivization;
- (2) Abandonment of unrealistic plans for delivery of grain quotas;
- (3) An immediate grant to the Ukrainian people of a loan of food and seed.

The Kremlin, deciding to bring the Ukrainian Government to its knees, replied with a demand that the Third Party Conference should be immediately convened, to which it delegated V. M. Molotov and L. Kaganovich as representatives of the Politbureau. The representatives of the Ukrainian Government were Chubar and Skrybnik who, prior to the party conference, personally visited most of Ukraine's oblasts and gathered voluminous material in support of the position of the Ukrainian Government. At the same time, the Ukrainian Government began a trial, the so-called Drabon case, which demonstrated prior to the beginning of the conference the existence of a great criminal conspiracy for the plundering of peasants under the guise of enforcing delivery of grain quotas, use mass terror, and deportation in the course of collectivization and delivery of

contingents. In reference to this, the parting words of Molotov at the party conference on July 6-8, 1932, were: "We will not tolerate any deviations or variations in the matter of the fulfilling of obligations accepted by the party and the Soviet Government." The results of the party conference stunned the majority of its participants. The first response in the unfolding conflict was given by the Ukrainian Economic Council by its demonstrative resolution of July 14, 1932, a week after the conference, which ordered a decrease in the plan for delivery of meat quotas from 16,400 tons to 11,214 tons. Reference is made to the WUTSWK news from July 17, 1932. This was a challenge to the Russian Politbureau. Moscow replied with its cruel law of August 7, 1932, "for the defense of Socialist rights," which was directed solely against the hungry population of the Ukraine and, 5 months later, after appropriate preparation, came the resolution of the central committee of the U. S. S. R. Communist Party, dated January 24, 1933, which, for the first time in the history of relations between Moscow and the Soviet Ukraine, declared its complete lack of confidence in the entire structure of the central committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, and appointed Pawlo Postishev as the secretary of the central committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party (in fact, made him dictator of the Ukraine) and gave posts in the most important oblasts, M. Khatyewich (Dnepropetrovsk), E. Wegera (Odessa), and nominated as chief of the NKVD Mr. B. A. Belitskyj. To aid him in the performance of his duties, Postishev imported 15,000 "thoroughly trained and tested Bolsheviks," trusted agents of Moscow. Possessed of unlimited power, employing terror on a vast scale, they supervised the execution of the famine plan and the liquidation of prominent patriotic Ukrainians everywhere. There is absolutely no doubt that the famine was the result of a deliberate and premeditated plan. The following is offered as proof:

(1) The aforementioned law of August 7, 1932, "for the protection of socialist property" which gave unlimited discretion by the agents of the Russian occupation power. In order to disassociate the Government from this criminal act (after it had already completed its role), the notorious chief prosecutor of the S. S. R., Vishinsky, criticized the application of a law to the cities (but not the law itself).

(2) The grain harvest in the Ukraine in 1932 was 894 million pood (1 pood equals 16.38 kilograms). After meeting seed requirements and the needs of the city population, the remainder would be sufficient to provide each peasant in the Ukrainian S. S. R. with 400 kilograms of bread. The harvest in 1933, when 5 million hectares (1 hectare equals 2.47 acres) of winter wheat were destroyed by frost, was 800 million poods and in 1924, a year of severe drought, the grain harvest was only 651 million poods, i. e. 243 million poods less than in 1932. It is important to note that there was no famine during any of these years. The above statistics are verified by the following works: Karodne Hospodarstvo Ukrainskoyj S. S. R., Kiev, 1935, and Economic Statistics Reports on Ukrainian Agriculture, Kharkiv, 1929; The Stalin Famine—Ukraine in the Year 1933, London 1954, supplement 2.

(3) The plan for the delivery of grain quotas in 1932 was not based upon the quantity of wheat planted and harvested but upon the U. S. S. R. state plan, in other words, upon an outrageous norm.

(4) Following the plan for expropriation of grain an additional plan was executed enforcing the delivery of surpluses of agricultural products. This was enforced by special brigades commanded by the imported agents named above and special units of OGPU (NKVD).

(5) Seed reserves which generally were kept until spring in the storage rooms of the collective farms were in the fall shipped to storage places in cities of the Russian S. S. R. (undoubtedly so that the famine stricken peasants would not eat them).

(6) Strict precautions were taken to prevent the peasantry living close to cities and industrial centers from obtaining jobs in factories as a result of which they would be eligible for a worker's ration of bread.

(7) In the grain elevators of the western oblasts of the Russian S. S. R. there were large quantities of requisitioned Ukrainian grain so much in fact that it was sometimes destroyed for lack of storage space. These large stores could easily have been diverted for famine relief.

(8) Enormous quantities of grain were exported through seaports on the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov and dumped on foreign markets at absurdly low prices. These could also have been easily used for famine relief. See pages 3-8 of enclosed essay by F. Pihido.

(9) I previously mentioned the struggle of the Ukrainian Soviet Government against the "political famine" planned by Moscow. This struggle was completed by the Third Party Conference which resulted in the destruction of the Government of the Ukrainian S. S. R. and the central committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party; the end result was the physical destruction of every member of the Government and the central committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine. The fact of the existence of this struggle proves beyond doubt the use of planned famine by Moscow as a means of political warfare against the Ukraine. This planned famine action, just as the liquidation of the "kurkuls," was directed against the entire Ukrainian nation with the main purpose of destroying the biological foundation of the Ukrainian people and its leadership and, thus, to completely humble this freedom-loving nation and to dispose of once and for all the irksome "Ukrainian problem" which, in the course of 300 years, the Czarist Russian regime had not been able to solve. This is further attested to by the following facts:

(a) Food products were forcibly taken away not only from those individual farmers who refused to participate in the collective system but also from the collectives and their members, who already constituted over 70 percent of the peasantry. During the course of the grain requisition and the requisition of "surpluses," surpluses such as baked bread or dough (which was still in the oven), clay containers with buckwheat grits, any item which could possibly be eaten and were of commercial significance, were seized from the hungering peasants. These were requisitioned solely for the purpose of depriving the peasantry of every single scrap of food.

(b) Seed grain of the collective farms was requisitioned and stored elsewhere on the pretext of better "security."

(c) It is a fact which is attested to by all who investigated the famine of 1933 that the death rate among collective farmers was almost always higher than that among the individual farmers.

(d) A deportation of "kurkuls" occurred in the wintertime. Ukrainians were deported in unheated freight cars to the northern regions (Murmansk, Wologda, Kotlas, and others) where, living in earthen bunkers or in barracks of light construction, the death rate was between 50 and 70 percent. At the same time, the "dekurkulization" in the Russian Republic was more humanely conducted. The "kurkuls" whose property was confiscated were often allowed to remain in the same area. Those who were deported were sent generally to the western Siberian oblasts, the Sadonsk regions, and even to the Kuban regions from which the natives had earlier been expelled, where the climatic conditions were quite tolerable. Consequently, the death rate among the dispossessed Russians in comparison to the Ukrainians was disproportionately smaller.

(e) There is every reason to believe that the aim of forcing the Ukrainian peasantry into the collective-farm system through the medium of famine was a secondary purpose. This is attested to by statistics which show that the degree of collectivization of peasant lands in the Ukraine (69 percent) prior to the use of hunger was much greater than in the Russian oblasts (60.3 percent) and greater than the U. S. S. R. average, which was 61.5 percent. It is noteworthy that during the years 1932-33 the number of collective farms in the Ukrainian S. S. R. increased only by 9 percent.

(f) An integral part of the plan for artificial famine was the systematic destruction of Ukrainian cultural and educational institutions and the backbone of Ukrainian national consciousness.

(g) The fact that the famine was used by Moscow as a weapon in the political struggle against the entire Ukrainian nation was made quite clear by that infamous tool of Moscow, for a long time secretary of the central committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, S. Kosyur. In the course of a speech made at the 13th Congress of the Soviets of the Ukrainian S. S. R. on January 17, 1935, 2 years after the famine, he related the attainments of the Communist Party in the Ukraine and stated: "In evaluating the great works performed in 1933 and 1934, in the struggle with the Ukrainian nationalists and with other counter-revolutionary elements, it must be said that our successes in 1933 and 1934 are in a large measure due to the fact that we thoroughly destroyed the nest of Ukrainian nationalists."

I will not go into detail about the inhuman cruelty of the occupational authorities in the carrying out of the famine program, about the sum total of the horrors suffered, of the many millions of Ukrainians and especially millions of tiny children who suffered and died. This will be shown and proven in the statements of individual victims and witnesses of this terrible famine.

The subject of the famine of 1932 is enlarged upon in greater detail in the memoirs and writings of contemporary witnesses. I strongly urge the congressional committee to acquaint itself at least with the sources herein mentioned. As to the number of victims of the famine in the Ukraine, according to various computations, it is from 6 to 7 million people (F. Pihido, supp. 1). Reference is also made to the work by Prof. S. Sosnovoy entitled "The Truth About the Famine in the Ukraine, 1932-33" and also to Ukrainian News, Western Germany, Nos. 10 and 11, 1950.

There is proof of a third instance of the use of the weapon of famine by the Bolsheviks in the years 1946 and 1947 on a large scale, again in the Ukraine. But this time the famine had the character of a vengeful action in consequence of the "disloyalty" to Moscow shown by the Ukrainians in the years 1941 and 1942. I will not elaborate on this matter because I do not have available the necessary source material.

Attached to my statement are a number of enclosures, consisting of memoirs and publications relating to the famine.

(Signed) F. PIHIDO.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (RE GENOCIDE BY FAMINE)

- (a) F. Praoberezhny, Eight Million—the Year 1933 in the Ukraine. Winnipeg, 1951.
- (b) Dimitro Solowey, Ukraine's Golgotha. No. 1. Winnipeg, 1953.
- (c) F. Pihido, the Stalin Famine—Ukraine in the Year 1933. London, 1954.
- (d) Agricultural Economy of the U. S. S. R., 1935, Moscow.
- (e) B. Podolyak, the Bloody Years. Suchasna Ukraina, Nos. 16, 17, 18, 1953.
- (f) All Ukrainian Communist Party News from June 1 to July 2, 1932, special reference to the report by J. Tumarkin, "Letters from the trial."
- (g) Pravda, July 7, 1932, editorial.
- (h) Pravda, July 9, 1932, speech of S. Kostiura at the party conference.
- (i) Pravda, July 14, 1932, statements by V. Molotov and L. Kaganovich at the party conference.
- (j) Marko Wishuyak, Wyshinsky. The New Journal (Nowe Zhurnal), book 17, 1947, pages 243-246.
- (k) O. Kalinik, What Accompanies Communism. Munich, Toronto, 1953 (a collection of documents from the U. S. S. R.), pages 104-105.

Mr. PIHIDO. I wish to sign my name to the statement.

Mr. BUSBEY. Yes.

Mr. PIHIDO. My name is already signed and I request that it be put into the record. I merely want to add the reasons for this artificial famine. This famine was a method of political warfare, a method of pressure upon the population. Therefore the purpose of this famine was not merely to force the peasants into the collective farm system but chiefly to subdue, to suffocate the Ukraine liberation movement. This statement that I am making now is also based on official Soviet sources. It is common knowledge that in the regions of the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic, that is the Russian nation, collectivization was being carried through in a more moderate fashion. The Russian peasant had been nudged into the idea of the obtsyna but on the contrary in the Ukraine and other enslaved non-Russian nations there was tremendous resistance. I want to present to the committee the following figures. At the beginning of 1932 in the Russian oblasts collectivization was carried out to the extent of 60 percent. At this time in the Ukraine 69 percent of all farms had been collectivized and in Uzbek collectivization reached 73 percent. These figures are derived from official statistics which I have quoted in my report submitted for the record. It is worthy to note that in the famine years the percentage of collectivized farms in Ukraine increased by a mere 9 percent. That this famine was motivated by political purposes can be shown further by the following. Grain was confiscated not only from the individual farmers who had not yet joined the collective

system but from the collectives themselves, from the collective farms which at that time constituted already 70 percent of the total agriculture.

I wish to add further than when surpluses and grains were confiscated things went even to such an extent that baked bread in the ovens was confiscated. Things that were taken had very little significance as far as trade and commerce is concerned. These small trivial items to the last scrap were confiscated for the reason of taking away from the population anything that could possibly be used for food. This is supported by the fact that seed-grain reserves, as I have stated previously which was stored in the collective farms were shipped out to Russia. The result of all research into the famine question reveals that the death rate among these collectivized peasants was disproportionately higher than that among the individual peasants. Moscow had the aim of destroying the biological basis of the Ukrainian nation. This is also proven by the following facts. The so-called de-kurkulization (expropriation) which took place in winter-time took on especially brutal forms in the Ukraine. Barefooted, unclothed peasants were jammed into railroad cars and transported to the regions of Murmansk, Welogda, Kotlas, and the like. This kurkulization was carried on in the Russian districts, but there it took on a more human form, if one may apply that term here. Those Russian kurkuls whose property was taken away were often allowed to remain in their home villages and if they were deported they were generally deported to the western districts of Siberia or to the region of Sadensk. The death rate amongst the expropriated Russian peasants was disproportionately lower, and in conclusion I want to say this that simultaneously with the execution of the famine action a campaign was also begun against Ukrainian culture and educational institutions and simultaneously the total destruction of the Ukrainian national consciousness. This is the end of my statement.

Mr. FEIGHAN. I wish to congratulate the witness for his very clear and concise presentation of the inhuman, terroristic activities engaged in by the masters of the Kremlin.

Mr. PIHIDO. I am very happy that my information has so been accepted by the committee and that I was given an opportunity to state these frightful deeds and in this way to give help to our people.

Mr. FEIGHAN. It is quite obvious to you that this attempt by the Russian Communists to suffocate, as you stated, the national spirit of the Ukrainian people did not and will never succeed.

Mr. PIHIDO. Yes; you are absolutely correct.

Mr. FEIGHAN. You will agree with me that the culture, folklore, and language of the Ukraine will never be suffocated.

Mr. PIHIDO. Never, it lives and will always live.

Mr. FEIGHAN. It is my hope, Mr. Witness, that the people in the free world will be able to pursue a positive policy based on moral and political principles that will bring an end to the enslavement by the Russians of the captive people behind the Iron Curtain.

Mr. PIHIDO. We also believe this and this is what gives us the will to live.

Mr. FEIGHAN. I believe that your excellent testimony and the excellent testimony by those who have preceded you before this committee will enable the free world to realize the true significance of the tactics, sadistic activities of the Kremlin and make the free world

unite in an effort based on moral and political principles to free the enslaved nations behind the Iron Curtain.

Mr. PIHDO. I will pass this on to my countrymen, and my delight that our cause has so many friends.

Mr. FEIGHAN. I would like to state that the testimony that we have heard came from people who have lived under and suffered the tortures of Communist aggression. This testimony has not come from some armchair or ivory tower theorists but instead came from first-hand testimony and convinces me more than ever before that the policy advocated by the former diplomat George Kenner is not only immoral, morally bankrupt, but represents a sure formula for the defeat of human freedom everywhere in the world and the establishment of world domination by the Russian Communists. You may assure the people of the Ukraine and all those of other nations behind the Iron Curtain that this committee will do its utmost to see that a positive formula based on moral and political principles will be developed so that all the world may be free and that the nations made captives by the Russian Communists will have an opportunity to be independent nations on the basis of self-determination by the people themselves.

Mr. PIHDO. We are happy to find such understanding of our cause and we will use all our strength to form a united front and go forward together with the rest of the world in this direction.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Of course, when I mentioned positive policy based on moral and political principles I mean a policy of liberation for the enslaved nations.

Mr. BUSBEY. On behalf of the committee I wish to thank you for the very fine testimony you have given this afternoon.

Mr. PIHDO. I am very glad because I have served not only the committee, but also my people.

Mr. BUSBEY. Thank you. We will adjourn until 9 o'clock tomorrow morning.

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST TAKEOVER AND OCCUPATION OF THE NON-RUSSIAN NATIONS OF THE U. S. S. R.

THURSDAY, JULY 1, 1954

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE COMMUNIST
AGGRESSION AND THE FORCED INCORPORATION OF
THE BALTIC STATES INTO THE U. S. S. R.,
Munich, Germany.

The committee reconvened in open session at 9 a. m. in the conference room, American Consulate General Building, Munich, Germany, Hon. Charles J. Kersten (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Present: Messrs. Bonin, Busbey, Machrowicz, and Feighan.

Also present: Mr. James J. McTigue, chief counsel.

(The official interpreter was sworn.)

(Mrs. Anna Kravchenko was sworn as a witness and testified in Ukrainian, as follows:)

Mr. McTIGUE. Your name is Anna Kravchenko?

TESTIMONY OF MRS. ANNA KRAVCHENKO

Mrs. KRAVCHENKO. Yes; I am Anna Kravchenko.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were born on May 2, 1919, in the village of Lapinka?

Mrs. KRAVCHENKO. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. You lived on a farm with your family?

Mrs. KRAVCHENKO. Yes; I lived on a farm with my family until 1941.

Mr. McTIGUE. Was your farm collectivized in 1930 along with other farms in the Ukraine?

Mrs. KRAVCHENKO. Yes; forcefully.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you living on this farm at the time of the great famine in the Ukraine concerning which we had testimony yesterday?

Mrs. KRAVCHENKO. Yes; I lived there at that time. I, myself, was a victim of the famine together with my family. For 2 years I did not go to school because I was too exhausted and weak as a result of the famine. I went 3 years into the fourth grade.

Mr. McTIGUE. Your family consisted of your father, mother, and eight children?

Mrs. KRAVCHENKO. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did your parents have a difficult time keeping you and the other children alive?

Mrs. KRAVCHENKO. Yes; especially difficult.

Mr. McTIGUE. How did they do it?

Mrs. KRAVCHENKO. My other sisters went to various jobs. My brother went a distance of 300 miles to work in a coal mine where he received a daily ration of 450 grams of bread. He, himself, did not eat his bread but come back home every week with the food from the coal mines. He came to our village to see the family, the children, and the mother who was lying in bed with two children all swollen with hunger. Two of the youngest children born in 1928 and 1930 were constantly lying in bed exhausted and swollen from hunger. We, the older children, went out for grass with which to keep us alive. We were terribly tired and exhausted when we moved about, when we left the house, and we could hardly return at night. One of the youngest child born in 1928 died from the famine on April 20, 1930. From our family this was the only death victim. The others, fortunately, survived the famine by the means which I have described.

Mr. McTIGUE. How many of the inhabitants of your village starved during the time of this terrible famine?

Mrs. KRAVCHENKO. I cannot give you an estimate based on any official statistics, but I can say—and that is my personal estimate—that in my village and the 2 neighboring villages approximately 1,000 people died of the famine.

Mr. McTIGUE. How many people were in the village; what was the population of the village?

Mrs. KRAVCHENKO. The village had a population of over 2,000 people.

Mr. McTIGUE. So half of the village died as a consequence of the famine?

Mrs. KRAVCHENKO. Yes, the greater part of the famine deaths were among the male population for the reason that the men did not survive the famine as well as the women and children did.

Mr. KERSTEN. You said that about 1,000 people died, do you mean 1,000 in your village which had a population of about 2,000 or do you mean 1,000 in your village and in the other nearby two villages? Just what did you mean?

Mrs. KRAVCHENKO. I talked about the two villages of Lapkina and Sulicka which was only a distance of 2 kilometers away. These villages together had a population of about 2,000 and in both of these villages a total of 1,000 people died.

Mr. KERSTEN. That is what I wanted to be cleared.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is it true that some of the people in your village were so desperate that they went to the cemetery and even ate grass there?

Mrs. KRAVCHENKO. The people went to the cemetery where they ate the sweet leaves of the trees and many after eating the leaves of the trees they were so weakened and exhausted that they laid down on the spot and died.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did the Communists confiscate the grain in your village during the period of this great famine?

Mrs. KRAVCHENKO. To our village special brigades of Russian Communists were sent. They searched for food and confiscated it. We had hidden bread in the chimney, but they broke open the chimney and took away the bread.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where did the Communists store the grain?

Mrs. KRAVCHENKO. They took the grain away from us, went into the church, partitioned the church building off and used the church for storing the grain. All the holy pictures and objects were thrown on the floor, trampled upon and the church was converted to a granary.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did the Communist regime give anything to the people finally?

Mrs. KRAVCHENKO. For as long as the famine lasted no such assistance was given. Those who were able left the village for the cities where they tried to find work. My father and my older brother also left our family and traveled around to find work, this way they helped our family.

Mr. KERSTEN. Mr. Busbey, any questions.

Mr. BUSBEY. No questions.

Mr. KERSTEN. Thank you very much.

(Mr. "H" was sworn as a witness and testified in Ukrainian as follows:)

Mr. McTIGUE. You are testifying under the name of Mr. "H" because you have relatives in the Ukraine and you do not want to disclose their identity.

TESTIMONY OF WITNESS H

Mr. H. That is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. We have the correct name of this witness in the files of the committee. We know who he is, we heard his reasons and I ask permission for him to proceed with his testimony under the name of Mr. "H."

Mr. KERSTEN. Without objection, he may so testify.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were born in the Ukraine?

Mr. H. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. How long have you lived in the Ukraine?

Mr. H. All the time until 1943.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were in the Ukraine during the period of the great famine concerning which testimony has been taken here?

Mr. H. I was.

Mr. McTIGUE. During the period of this terrible man-made famine did any prominent western statesmen or authorities come to the Ukraine with a view of investigating the famine conditions there?

Mr. H. Such people did come.

Mr. McTIGUE. Tell us who they were; tell us something about it, please.

Mr. H. Yes. I was at that time in Kharkov and at that time to Kharkov came the well-known and famous French statesman Herriot.

Mr. McTIGUE. Was it Edouard Herriot?

Mr. H. Yes; Edouard Herriot. When he was leaving Kharkov he gave an interview in which he stated that there was no famine in the Ukraine. This interview was printed in all newspapers of the Soviet Union. I can testify as to how everything was arranged in order that Herriot might not see the famine conditions in the Ukraine. Before his arrival, that is, before Herriot's arrival in Kharkov, everything was prearranged including the route that he was taking into the city and the places which he was supposed to visit. Thus it was made known

that he would visit the tractor factory at a distance of 10 kilometers from Kharkov.

Two roads led to this factory at that time, they were known as the Old Moscow Road and Moscow Road, later it was called Stalin Prospect. Before the arrival of Herriot all the inhabitants living on the street were ordered to put a fresh coat of paint on the front of their houses. On the day of Herriot's arrival all the stores on this street were filled with bread with strict orders that only the actual residents of the Stalin Prospect could purchase this bread. Further instructions were that people could go into the stores only singly and not in groups. All entrances to and exits from the street were blocked off by the police.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were in Kharkov at this time and saw this personally?

Mr. H. I saw this personally.

Mr. McTIGUE. Was Herriot alone or did a delegation from France accompany him on this tour of inspection?

Mr. H. He was alone; he was perhaps accompanied by his secretary, nothing was mentioned about a delegation. The roads were blocked off in order to prevent the famine-stricken population from blundering into the streets. On this day I was returning from work by this street and it suddenly struck me that the stores were full of bread. I did not know at this time that this was all prearranged for Herriot, and I found out that Herriot had been there only on the next day. When I arrived at the spot where I was supposed to branch off to my home about 8 to 10 meters from the Stalin Prospect I saw a woman lying under a tree and lying alongside her was her infant child. She was surrounded by several curious people who asked her if perhaps she were not ill. She answered "I am not sick, but for some reasons my legs refuse to function and I cannot walk any longer." She said that she had come from the village and brought the child along with her to give it away to a children's institution because in the village there was nothing to eat.

On the next day when I was going by this very same street to work, the woman was lying dead under this tree, but the child was no longer there. The body of this woman was lying under this tree for 3 days. Those who were entrusted with the task of gathering up the bodies did not fulfill their task very efficiently. I know one of the leaders of the clinic in Kharkov. At that time the clinic was responsible for clearing the corpses from the streets of Kharkov. He said he had only one truck and a horse-drawn cart with which he was unable to fulfill the job of carting away all corpses and he was afraid he would be arrested for not fulfilling his duty. Many people pressed forward into Kharkov in search of food and the Kharkov authorities took all measures and did not allow these people into the cities. All railroad stations and main routes were blocked off by the police. Those people who did succeed in getting into the city of Kharkov were rounded up by the police, put into trucks, and taken for a distance of 15 miles outside the town and dumped by the roadside. They were exhausted and weakened, they could not get back to the city and died by the road, most of them. All this was with reference to the arrival of Mr. Herriot. I want to present two more facts to the committee. First of all, at the time the famine was in its most critical stage it was forbidden in Ukraine to speak of the famine. And I would also like to

say how my brother died from hunger from the famine. One could not say anything with regard to the existence of the famine despite the fact that people were dropping on the street from hunger.

In the spring of 1943 all Soviet newspapers carried a report of an Austrian press agency which stated that in Ukraine there is a big famine and called upon the Western World to help Ukraine with food. All the Soviet newspapers, including the Ukrainian Soviet newspapers, published this announcement under the following headline: "Terrible slander against the Soviet Union" and gave their own comments to the effect that this was a matter of falsehood. We all had to read this and wonder. At this time I was studying at the technical institute in Kharkov and for practice I was sent with a group of students to Debalcavo. We saw a long train and this train was terribly overfilled with people. There was no longer room for the people inside, so they were on the roof and on the platforms of the train. Of course, people had so overfilled this train that the situation was really a dangerous one. There were men and women, oldsters and infants. When we asked them where they were going they said that they were heading for the Caucasus in search of bread. A discussion started among the students and the question arose why is it that Ukrainian peasants are leaving Ukraine for the Caucasus in search of bread as everyone knows that Ukraine had always supplied Caucasus with bread. This we saw in public during the course of 3 months. Generally, my colleagues denied the fact that there was a famine in Ukraine. When we returned to Kharkov, back to the institute, a meeting was called where my background was questioned. One student who was not a Communist arose and stated that such and such a student had said that all the people of Ukraine are famine-stricken, that in 1932 the harvest had been a normal one and that there was no reason for famine and that therefore famine had been specially organized.

It was then demanded of me that I stand up face the audience and begin a critic of my own statement denying the truth of what I had said. But I got up and stated that all I had said was the truth. I stated that the audience was very well aware of the conditions in the three districts, Kharko district, Poltava district, and Dniepropetrovsk district. This took the leader of the meeting by surprise and he forced Communist students to take the platform and explain the meaning of the famine. They stated that those were hungry who did not want to work. It was admitted that Ukraine was undergoing difficulties but these were only temporary difficulties. I got up and stated that not only those who did not want to work were stricken by famine but also workers and peasants on the collective farms. As to the objection raised by myself that these were mere difficulties I said: "How can you apply this terminology if millions of people are dying?" As to the argument that some areas had taken out more grain than the plan had foreseen I gave the following example. Generally we had vacation and I spent this vacation in Balaklit which is the Kharkov district. In this area the secretary of the regional party committee when he received the plan for delivery of grain contingents compared it with the plan of other areas, and it showed that the plan was the same for all areas. He brought this up at a meeting of the regional party committee. This plan was not accepted because as he stated we would have to deliver all the bread and the population would be hungry.

Then the representative of the central committee came into the village and succeeded in having the secretary of the regional party committee purged out of the party and arrested. The plan was then accepted and the expropriation of grain began. And I told the meeting that it is a proven fact that the peasants of this region are swollen from hunger. Following this I was expelled from the school at the unanimous demand of all students, including my friends, for if anyone had voted in my favor this would have been interpreted as a hostile act against the Soviet Government.

I now come to the next question. We were three brothers. I was a student in Kharkov, my older brother worked as an engineer and my younger brother, 19 years of age, worked in a village on a collective farm. We were quite conscious of the fact that our younger brother was in danger. Although it was impossible to leave the village because none was given an identity document we wrote he should flee the village and he fled to the older brother who worked in the Don Basin. After a short while he was picked up by the police as being without proper identity documents and not registered with the police. My brother was returned by the police back to the village where he had come from. After this I brought my brother to Kharkov and he lived with me for 2 months, but he was not registered with the police. There again the police found out about him and sent him back to the village. In spring 1933 I went back to the village to visit him and bring him food, I saw the following scene in the village. The village had at one time more than 3,000 houses, now many of the farmhouses were empty and all the inhabitants perished to the last man. The yards were covered with high weeds and in the village there was not one dog, not even a cow. There were three collective farms in the village and on every collective there was an individual to whom was delegated the responsibility of gathering the corpses and trucking them off to the cemetery. He had a special quota of corpses to be fulfilled; that is, he had to gather a certain quota of corpses daily, or else he would not receive his daily food ration.

In this village I know instances of cannibalism. I can give such an example. A neighbor living in a house not far from the house in which I was born—his name was Barabash—worked in a factory near Dnieperpetrovsk. He had a wife and five children who lived in the village, but he received a bread ration only for himself, approximately 600 grams a day. His wife had nothing with which to nourish the children, and she decided to take these children to Dnieperpetrovsk and abandon them at the railroad station with the hope that someone would take them to a children's home. She did this. The children sat in the railroad station until nightfall and then began to cry. A militiaman picked these children up and proceeded with them to a children's home. Unexpectedly, as these children were being led by the militiaman to the children's home, the children recognized their father who was on the street returning home from work. The children shouted to the father and the militiaman asked him, "Are these your children?" The father admitted these were his children. The militiaman recorded this fact and demanded that the parents take the children back. As a result of this, Barabash lost his job in the factory, all had to return to the village, and at the time when I came on a visit to the village, they had all died of famine. I returned to Kharkov and in a month or so I received the news that my own brother had died of

famine. Therefore, in the Ukraine, such a system was prevalent, that disregarding the fact that we were two brothers, it was impossible for us to save the life of our youngest brother. This is all that I have to say to the committee. I can answer the questions.

Mr. BUSBEY. After you were dismissed from school, what work did you do?

Mr. H. I worked in a factory.

Mr. BUSBEY. And when did you escape from the Ukraine?

Mr. H. In 1943.

Mr. BUSBEY. Would you be willing to tell us something about your escape?

Mr. H. When the Germans came to the Ukraine, and when the Bolsheviks were again on the offensive, and were about to take Kharkov, I fled from Kharkov to the west; and as the front constantly moved westward, I also fled west, and by these means I found myself in Germany.

Mr. BUSBEY. That is all.

Mr. KERSTEN. Thank you.

(Mr. Ivan Tatarsky was sworn as a witness and testified through the interpreter, in Ukrainian.)

The INTERPRETER. He would also prefer that no photographs be taken.

Mr. KERSTEN. The witness makes the request that he not be photographed. Mr. Photographer, I notice you took a picture; will you kindly destroy the negative of this witness.

Mr. McTIGUE. Does he understand that?

(Whereupon the interpreter spoke to the photographer in German.)

Mr. KERSTEN. In every case where a witness seeks the protection of anonymity of any kind, the committee insists that protection be afforded.

Mr. McTIGUE. Your name is Ivan Tatarsky, I-v-a-n T-a-t-a-r-s-k-y?

TESTIMONY OF IVAN TATARSKY

Mr. TATARSKY. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you born?

Mr. TATARSKY. In the Zhitomir region.

Mr. McTIGUE. In Ukraine?

Mr. TATARSKY. Yes; in Ukraine.

Mr. McTIGUE. During the great and terrible man-made famine in the Ukraine, concerning which we have had testimony from several witnesses, did you have the occasion to visit some of the villages in the Vinnitsa district?

Mr. TATARSKY. At that time, in 1933, I had been sentenced to exile in the far east, and I wish to testify about how people were "voluntarily" forced into the collective farm system.

Mr. McTIGUE. Well, can you tell us something about that, briefly?

Mr. TATARSKY. In order to make it easier for the Soviet Government in its struggle against the peasantry, they began employing the following methods: First of all, all peasants were divided into three categories. The first category were the well-to-do and wealthy farmers who were designated as kulaks and kurkuls. The second category was designated serednyk, or the middle category. The third category were the bidnjaky or the poor peasants. The following

law was made applicable to the kulaks. A party conference was called in Moscow where a resolution was passed to liquidate the kulaks as a class. As a result of this order, the work began. They came and took away all the well-to-do peasants and plundered their property, and from the plundered property, uniting the activists and the poor peasants, they created farms which at that time they called Sozy units. The middle-class peasants at this time looked upon these goings on apathetically and did not react in any way. When these farms were established by the Government, agitators began coming to the villages and requested that the population voluntarily sign up for the collective farms.

The peasants, when they heard that the signing up for the collective farms was supposed to be on a voluntary basis, believing in the voluntariness, refused to join the collective farm system. One peasant got up and said that when you find it necessary that all of us go into the collective farm system, you should first arrange for a general order by the Government of the Soviet Union compelling us to do so. One party member got up and said, "Well, look what this fellow is driving at. He would like the capitalist world to read and know that the Communist government is forcing peasants into the collective system." Then one woman got up at the meeting and says, "Well, the devil with all these collectives. Let's take off from this meeting." The woman left and everyone else followed her, and only the party member were left at the meeting. Then they began to terrorize the middle-class peasants. Raids would be made at night, in which peasants would be robbed. When such a robber band came into the village to rob the home of one such peasant, one of his two sons ran to the church, rang the village bell, and summoned all the villagers, who gathered in the square. Seeing this the robbers were frightened and fled. On the next day three party members came from district headquarters and quartered themselves in the home of the village school master. The villagers found out about this, rang the village church bell again, summoned all the villagers, frightened the Communist Party members, who fled from the village. Early the following morning 20 GPU men mounted on horses rode into the village.

The GPU wanted to investigate what had happened the night before, but again someone rushed to the village church, rang the bell, and summoned together the village population. True, this time they were mostly women, because the men were afraid, but together they had pitchforks and hoes, and together they began chasing out the GPU. They chased the GPU men far beyond the village limits, and one of the peasants, Bondar, was wounded in the leg by a shot by the GPU. It was forbidden them to shoot. They chased them far beyond the village limits to the beginning of the next village, and thought that the village population there would help them in the pursuit, but as this help was not forthcoming, they returned to their village. Then it was ordered by the Bolsheviks to take off the church bells so that further alarms could not be given. And, again in the night, plundering of the villagers began. Frightened by these continued acts of terror, the villagers began voluntarily to sign up for the collective farm. This is my statement as to how the peasants "voluntarily" entered the collective farm system.

Mr. McTIGUE. During the period of the great famine, Mr. Tatarsky, you visited, or had the occasion to visit, some of the villages of the Vinnitsa district; is that correct?

Mr. TATARSKY. At the time of the great famine I had been arrested and sentenced to 5 years, and deported to the far east, so that I did not see these conditions.

Mr. McTIGUE. I see. We appreciate your testimony on the methods used by the Bolsheviks to enforce collectivized farming in Ukraine. I have no further questions.

(Mr. Platon Derevianko was sworn as a witness and testified through the interpreter in Ukrainian.)

Mr. McTIGUE. Your name is Platon Derevianko, P-l-a-t-o-n D-e-r-e-v-i-a-n-k-o?

TESTIMONY OF PLATON DEREVIANKO

Mr. DEREVIANKO. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were born in the village of Sary in the Ukraine; is that correct?

Mr. DEREVANKO. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you there during the time of the terrible man-made famine concerning which we have had testimony here?

Mr. DEREVIANKO. I am a poor, common peasant and I lived in this area all the time.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you a victim of this terrible famine yourself?

Mr. DEREVIANKO. Yes. I was a victim because two members of my family died from famine.

Mr. McTIGUE. Who were the members of your family that died from the famine?

Mr. DEREVIANKO. My daughter died and my aunt died.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you forage on the countryside for food in order to keep yourself alive, and your daughter alive, and your aunt alive?

Mr. DEREVIANKO. I had always worked the land but the Reds took away everything that we could possibly eat in 1932, and I had nothing. I tried to struggle to feed myself and my family as best as I could. We exchanged all our personal property for food, and then we ate weeds. I, myself, ate the leaves of birch trees. And in the end we had to forage in the grain fields in the search for leavings and droppings after the harvest. It was only from such poor leavings that we were able to get some poor-quality bread.

Mr. McTIGUE. In your village do you know the case of a woman who killed her child in order to eat it?

Mr. DEREVIANKO. Yes; I was going to the village council hall in the month of May, and at that time as I was at the village hall, the wife—the widow of Litvienko was brought in by the village authorities, who also carried a kettle in which was the salted body of a child. Many onlookers gathered to have a look, and the woman and the kettle were taken to the regional headquarters, and we never saw them again.

Mr. KERSTEN. Did you see this with your own eyes?

Mr. DEREVIANKO. Yes, I saw this on my own eyes. I saw as they brought her. There were about 50 of us gathered, looking at this horrible sight.

Mr. McTIGUE. Was there any other similar happening that you witnessed?

Mr. DEREVIANKO. I saw only this one case with my own eyes, but my children told me of a similar case in the house next door, but I did not see this myself.

Mr. McTIGUE. How old was your daughter when she died of starvation, Mr. Derevianko?

Mr. DEREVIANKO. Five years old.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you leave the Ukraine?

Mr. DEREVIANKO. In 1943.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you are living here in Germany now, is that correct?

Mr. DEREVIANKO. Yes; I live in Germany, in the city of Neu Ulm.

Mr. McTIGUE. I have no further questions.

Mr. KERSTEN. Thank you.

(The Byelorussian interpreter was questioned as to her ability to act as interpreter and was then sworn.)

Mr. Mikola Abramtschik was sworn as a witness and testified in Byelorussian as follows:)

Mr. McTIGUE. Your name is Mikola Abramtschik, M-i-k-o-l-a A-b-r-a-m-t-s-c-h-i-k?

TESTIMONY OF MIKOLA ABRAMTSCHIK

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. Yes, my name is Mikola Abramtschik.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were born in the town of Sychavick?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Located just a few miles from the Russian border in Poland; is that correct?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. Yes, that is true.

Mr. McTIGUE. You graduated from the University of Prague in 1929?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. Yes, I did.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were an engineer?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you are now president of the RADA—

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Which is the Council of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic in exile; is that correct?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Going back, for the moment, to December 1917, can you tell us briefly of the first attempt in this century to create a Democratic Republic of Byelorussia?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. In 1917, right after the Russian Revolution, the Byelorussian people asserted that the independent state of life was the only solution to their problems.

Mr. KERSTEN. Just a second, Mr. Abramtschik; you do not object to a photograph being taken, do you?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. No. According to the revolution of 1917, there were recognized principles for self-determination of every nation. Therefore the Byelorussian intelligentsia began right away to organize the committee, cultural as well as political. At that time in Byelorussia, as well as in all areas of the old Russian Empire, there began a propaganda for the establishment of the new order. The Byelorussian National Central Committee in Minsk took the initiative to call the first all Byelorussian National Congress in order to see the will of

the Byelorussian people. They prepared their works for about 3 months for this congress. All parties were free to make any propaganda they wanted. There was a complete freedom of speech, including the Communist Party. The Communist Party saw that the attitude of the Byelorussians was not very favorable to them. Therefore the Communist Party decided to call a separate congress, but being afraid that such a congress could be boycotted, they agreed to a common congress of all Byelorussian parties. Therefore such congress took place on the 18th of December 1917. This congress was attended by 1,872 delegates elected in a democratic way. Among them were only 42 Communists; that means less than one-half percent. The Congress was held at the Minsk City Theater on the 18th of December. It lasted for 2 weeks in a very quiet atmosphere. The Communist Party, however, got in touch with the Central Communist Party in Leningrad, as it is known in Leningrad at that time the revolution took place.

Stalin, in accordance with Trotsky, decided to destroy this Democratic Byelorussian Congress by armed forces. On the 30th of December 1917, just at that time when the congress adopted a resolution for the Independent Byelorussian State by a vote of 1,822 to 50, at that very moment in Minsk appeared a division of Siberian rifle troops. This division was composed mainly of Russian elements. It was not in Byelorussia at the time the congress was organized. The Bolsheviks required 2 weeks to bring this division to Minsk. The division was armed with cannon, with mechanical guns, and so forth. On the 30th of December they attacked the congress, they then began to arrest the delegates and dismissed the congress. The delegates of the congress, however, gathered once more in the railroad depot on the 31st of December, except the 42 Communist deputies, and excepting a couple of dozens of arrested ones. There were more than 1,800 present in this railroad depot. The railroad workers threatened the Communists that if they would attack once more the congress the workers would announce the general strike on the railroad. This Russian division became located permanently in Minsk, but the Byelorussian Congress continued its work. In this congress there were elected 71 deputies which were invested with unlimited authority until the next free elections. It was a constituted legislative body. The congress, however, then went underground to organize an uprising. On the 19th of July 1918 an uprising broke out and the Bolsheviks were expelled from Minsk. Very quickly there were organized military units and the Government began to organize the local administration.

Thus the capital of Byelorussia, Minsk, was freed completely, as well as some cities located 90 kilometers to the east. There was constituted the first government in which were represented the national minorities of Byelorussia. A Minister of Justice Affairs there was, Minister Suytlosk and a Minister of Russian, Polish, and Lithuanian Affairs. Thus the Government united completely the 4 Byelorussian parties, plus 4 nationalities inhabiting Byelorussia. But at that time the Bolsheviks signed the Brest Treaty with Germans, and Germans decided to occupy this free part of Byelorussia as far as that place where the Communists retreated. The Germans, however, did not trust the military units of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic and

therefore they disarmed them. They showed some tolerance toward the government de facto, and didn't hinder it in its administrative work in the territory occupied by Germans. During that time the Byelorussian Government and the RADA issued three fundamental laws. In these fundamental laws were proclaimed the basic rights of the Byelorussian people. These rights became the temporary constitution of the Byelorussian people. In the third fundamental law, the 25th of March 1918, the RADA of the Byelorussian Democratic Union, and annulled all peace treaties signed by the Russian Government in the name of Byelorussia. At that time the RADA tried to come into diplomatic relations with other countries. About 12 countries recognized the RADA of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic and almost all European countries established business and diplomatic relations with it.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Abramtschik, did you prepare a statement in connection with this? Have you a written statement in this connection?

The INTERPRETER. You mean concerning the whole thing?

Mr. McTIGUE. Yes.

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. Yes; I have.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is that the statement in front of you now?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. No.

Mr. McTIGUE. Do you have a statement with you?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. Yes; I have a memorandum.

Mr. McTIGUE. Could we see it, please?

(Whereupon the witness handed the document to Mr. McTigue.)

Mr. McTIGUE. This relates to the genocide only; does it not?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. No; there is other essential information also.

Mr. KERSTEN. Is this statement, Mr. Abramtschik, the testimony that you are now giving orally?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. Not all, but the main points are there.

Mr. KERSTEN. The main points are in the written statement?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. Yes.

Mr. KERSTEN. I think, Mr. Counsel, that we have here a very important witness and I think it might be a good idea to ask Mr. Abramtschik if he wishes to furnish us with an additional statement giving us the details of the functioning of the Byelorussian State during this period. The committee should accept the statement. I think if he would touch the high points only now in his oral testimony, it might add to the understanding of the situation.

I suggest you tell the witness to touch the high points of the history, with the understanding, unless there is some objection, that he may file a further statement, giving us therein any additional details so that we might understand this situation completely.

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. In December 1918 the Germans left the Byelorussian territory.

Mr. KERSTEN. May I ask a question? The Byelorussian Republic existed as an independent republic for how long a time?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. From 1917 to 18th of February 1921.

Mr. KERSTEN. What happened on the 18th of February 1921.

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. On the 18th of February 1921, when Communists signed the peace treaty with Poland, they managed to liquidate all their Russian military units, and from that time on the Government

of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic was not allowed to exist in the free territory and, therefore, had to emigrate.

Mr. KERSTEN. I think you have touched upon that before, and I probably shouldn't have asked that question but what happened after 1924?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. From 1921, when Bolsheviks occupied that part of Byelorussia, they decided to organize the Byelorussian Soviet Socialistic Republic. During the time of the war—that was from 1919 to 1921—the Bolsheviks in Smolensk created the Government of the Soviet Socialistic Republic. Now they brought this government to Minsk. They only included in this republic the territory comprising 1,200,000 inhabitants. They gave some concessions in the education and culture fields, thinking to pacify the liberation movement. It looked quite like a trap, and the Byelorussians were not attracted by this at all. In 1924 they decided to enlarge the boundaries of the Byelorussian Republic, to make it include 5 million inhabitants, and gave much broader concessions, cultural as well as political. From 1924 on in Byelorussia began the development of the cultural life.

Mr. McTIGUE. Cultural life of the Soviets?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. The Bolsheviks called that national in form, and Bolshevik in content. The Byelorussian language was proclaimed a state language. They organized four high schools, like polytechnikums and institutes. They gave the wide possibilities of free press. They organized several organizations of poets and writers. However, the Bolsheviks didn't have a possibility to control the direction of the national movement.

Besides that, the Bolsheviks needed to give an impression that they give complete liberty in national life. Their aim was to attract all Byelorussian intelligentsia who fled after the destruction of the Byelorussian Republic. The Bolsheviks tried to bring the Government of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic back to Minsk. The Government was at that time in Czechoslovakia. That country continued to recognize the Byelorussian Government up until 1928. The Bolsheviks sent one proletarian writer emissary to Czechoslovakia to lead negotiations about bringing the Government back to Minsk. He did not succeed and after that Zulonovich was punished. This concessions in national culture, educational life, lasted till 1929. This period from 1924 to 1929 created an impression that there was a Byelorussian country although under the control of the Communist Party. This impression attracted to some extent the Byelorussian cultural elements outside of Russia and some people who lived far distances moved from all the other nations of the U. S. S. R. back to Byelorussia. In 1929-30 the Bolsheviks decided to begin repressions. They were convinced that they could organize a state national in form but Socialist in content, but did not succeed.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is this the year 1929-30 that the mass massacres occurred in Byelorussia?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. How many people were massacred?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. In 1929-30 the first cases occurred. At first they took the most prominent Byelorussians in the field of education and sciences and also high commissars. We had the impression that these first arrests comprised several thousand people. Among them were about 300 professors of universities. At the same time they

began the collectivization and they also arrested the well-to-do peasants and most active workers. They arrested about a million of Byelorussian peasants. In 1933 there were other mass arrests. At that time they took teachers, the administrative officials of cities and towns. The third stage of the mass arrests took place in 1936-38. At that time the public prosecutors were given instructions to destroy individually the Byelorussian elements. I have one classic and very interesting document proving the identity of the Byelorussian cultural people who were destroyed. It was in 1937-38 when the public prosecutor Kiselov during a year and a half of his being in office shot about 50,000 of Byelorussian people within the boundaries of Byelorussia. His arrests had very brutal character.

These repressions were so terrible that something had to be done in order to improve the impression about the Kremlin. Therefore, from Kremlin there was sent a control commission headed by the military public prosecutor, Kokolov, who inspected the activities of Kiselov. They made minutes, and we succeeded to get a copy of these minutes from the archives of NKVD during the German occupation. This Moscow control commission enumerates all facts of shooting of people by Kiselov without any basis, and quite innocent people. Their exact number is in these minutes. Only in those records which were found in the office of Kiselov there were shot 13,325 people. From all those arrested by Kiselov there were sent to Siberia only 1,000 people. Only 330 were freed. These minutes said that these victims, the number of these victims is not complete because the majority of records was sent to Moscow by Kiselov and there were no copies left, and the majority of the records was in the provincial office of the NKVD.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Chairman, the witness has a very important document there, a document regarding the trial and execution of over 13 million prisoners. I suggest that the document be turned over to the committee, or copies to put in our file.

Mr. KERSTEN. Mr. Abramtschik advised me about this document last fall in Paris when I saw him there, and I, too, regard it as an important document. I think it should be made part of the record. Have you finished describing this document, Mr. Abramtschik?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. I would like to underline one significant thing.

Mr. KERSTEN. All right; continue.

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. The task of this commission sent to investigate the activities of Kiselov, its task was not to administrate order and justice. They realized that before, because the majority of the records were in Moscow. Their main task was to pacify the Byelorussian population, because there were about 7,000 complaints sent to Stalin, Voroshilov, and Molotov, asking them to investigate the activities of Kiselov. I would like to introduce in round figures the number of people arrested or shot during the period from 1929 to 1940; this includes mass arrests and shootings, as well as individual arrests.

Mr. KERSTEN. Before you do that, let me ask you a few questions, Mr. Abramtschik. You have handed us a green folder with 19 pages of a document written in Russian. These 19 pages appear to be quite old, that is, a matter of more than 5 or 10 years, perhaps; the first piece of paper is somewhat soiled and slightly torn. The sheets following are in quite good condition. Will you tell me where you first got this document of these 19 sheets in the Russian language? Where did you first get them?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. When the Germans were advancing and the Communists were retreating—

Mr. KERSTEN. My question is, When did you first get it? Just a simple answer.

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. 1948, in Germany.

Mr. KERSTEN. From whom did you get it?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. From a person who found this document in the archives of the NKVD, and, if necessary, this person can testify before the congressional committee.

Mr. KERSTEN. What is his name? Can you tell us?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. No, I cannot give him name in public.

Mr. KERSTEN. But do you know who he is?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. Yes; I do.

Mr. KERSTEN. And is this person available to testify under the proper committee protection of identity?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. Yes.

Mr. KERSTEN. Can you tell us how that person, we will call him Mr. X, how you understand this person procured this document?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. Yes.

Mr. KERSTEN. Very briefly.

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. When the Germans retreated this archive of NKVD on the Square of Liberty in Minsk was on fire. Many people gathered there trying to extinguish the fire. Some of them tried to find some documents.

Mr. KERSTEN. Where was that?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. In Minsk.

Mr. KERSTEN. And when?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. 1941.

Mr. KERSTEN. Do you remember the day, month or day, when this person got it?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. In the written statement it is written down.

Mr. KERSTEN. I see there is in the same folder a more recent sheet in English which describes the manner in which the document was procured. You said when the Germans retreated this document was procured. Did you mean when the Bolsheviks retreated?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. Yes, when the Bolsheviks retreated.

Mr. KERSTEN. I see this statement does say "when the Bolsheviks" retreated. Is there another document similarly procured that you have there?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. There is another document which is less significant, I think, but it was issued at the time when the western parts of Byelorussia were annexed to the U. S. S. R.

Mr. KERSTEN. Do you know who procured it?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. Yes, I know. This person is in the United States and in this document the Bolsheviks complain that in one district there were only 1,546 arrests and they complained that this is a very small quantity and that they are going to punish their own people for having arrested so few people.

Mr. KERSTEN. Just one other question or two about the first document that I talked about. In substance what does this first document say or contain, just in substance, very briefly?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. The main substance is that the control commission which was sent from Moscow said that Kiselov conducted his activities in such a way that he arrested and shot many innocent people.

Mr. KERSTEN. Marked as "Exhibit NR No. 1," the document being a green folder containing 19 pages of Russian language, the document that we last referred to containing also an English translation and another sheet of paper of more recent typing of western language. Without objection, it may be received. I will ask you to bring this other witness, Mr. Abramtschik, this afternoon.

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. When?

Mr. KERSTEN. Sometime after 2 o'clock, about 2 o'clock.

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. All these mass as well as individual arrests and shooting led to the conclusion that during the 35 years of Bolshevik domination about 15 million people were destroyed, about 3 million were either shot or sent to Siberia. Economic misery reduced considerably the span of life and the birthrate. As a result there were minus 12 million people that would normally have been, considering the national growth of population. In 1918 in the ethnographic territory of Byelorussia there lived 18 million people. Today, according to the Bolshevik statistics, there are only 16 million. That is 2 million less than there were in 1918. According to the national growth of the Byelorussian population, established as 19 per thousand, it should now be 30 million. Today there are about 14½ million less. This shows the organized destruction which is directed toward the destruction of the Byelorussian population.

Mr. KERSTEN. Mr. Abramtschik, I show you a pamphlet, a booklet rather, with a pink cover on it, the title of which is "I Accuse the Kremlin of Genocide of My Nation" and the author purports to be Mikola Abramtschik, and ask you if this is a pamphlet written by you?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. Yes, it is.

Mr. KERSTEN. It appears that the pamphlet with the pink cover to which I just referred contains an English translation of the Russian document contained in the green-covered folder marked as "Munich Exhibit 2-A"; is that correct?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. Yes, that is correct.

Mr. KERSTEN. Is the English translation in the pink pamphlet a true and correct translation of the Russian document contained in the green folder?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. It is absolutely correct; it was translated in the United States by a person who knows perfectly the English language.

Mr. KERSTEN. And you know it to be such a correct translation?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. Absolutely.

Mr. KERSTEN. It may also be received, without objection, as Munich exhibit No. 2.

Mr. McTIGUE. I have one further question. How did the Russians treat the peoples of Byelorussia after the German retreat?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. After the Germans retreated, the Bolsheviks resumed their tactics. They tried to create an impression among the Byelorussian intelligentsia and the Byelorussian people that they are prepared to give broader concessions and freedoms; therefore they demanded for the Byelorussian Socialist Soviet Republic a seat in the United Nations. They also established a national flag for the Byelorussian Socialist Soviet Republic. On the other hand, they began new repressions under the pretext of punishing German collaborators.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did this continue right along up to 1952?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. Yes, approximately.

Mr. McTIGUE. What happened after 1952 now?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. There were no marked changes. At first the death of Stalin caused some relaxation as the people were waiting for some changes. However, very soon the disappointment came because there were no changes practically at all, except for some changes in the offices. All central key positions remained the same. They were occupied by Russian Communists. In exceptional cases official positions are sometimes occupied by non-Russians. The Government of the Byelorussian Socialist Soviet Republic today consists of 26 ministers but there are only 7 Byelorussians, that is whose origin is Byelorussian. One is a Georgian, one a Jew. The rest of them are Russians. All central committees of the Communist Party districts as well as counties, the officers are 80 to 90 percent Russian Communists. The Byelorussian elements were admitted to some lower offices. Before there were more newspapers, now there are about 180 newspapers in the Byelorussian language today.

Mr. FEIGHAN. What do you think was the main reason for this genocide of the nation?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. The national liberation movement. The Bolsheviks were convinced that beginning in 1917 the Byelorussians were constantly developing strength for their national liberation. Since they could not resettle the whole Byelorussian nation at once in some foreign land they tried gradually to diminish the potential of the Byelorussian people. This was only possible through annihilating those elements that were striving for the organized independent state.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you feel that same spirit of healthy nationalism is just as strong in Byelorussia now as it was after the Bolsheviks first took over?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. I am sure that all those people who remained alive cannot think otherwise. In every family in Byelorussia there is at least one member of the family who was destroyed or arrested for his support of the liberation movement. You cannot forget these things so fast. Besides that, up to 1950-51 in Byelorussia there were large units of partisans, guerrillas. We have some information that because of the NKVD repressions these partisan detachments were forced to reorganize and now there are about 10 to 12 persons in a detachment. At the time when the Byelorussian national flag was presented there was a big demonstration in Minsk and the Bolsheviks were trying to convince the people that they were the only benefactors. If it had not been for the national spirit of the Byelorussians the Bolsheviks would not need to show this. Besides that in February 1951 the newspaper of the Communist Party, which in English is "Star" printed a letter of President Wilson, in which President Wilson at the time showed his sympathies toward the Government of the independent Byelorussian Republic. The Bolsheviks printed this letter and made a comment, that despite the fact that in 1918-19 the Byelorussians tried to create an independent state, the wise policy of the Soviet proletariat did not allow the Byelorussian people to organize the republic. Therefore it was said that the Byelorussian people cannot count upon the support of the United Nations. The Soviet Union now is even stronger.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you have any idea what Wilson sent?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. I do not have this copy. I have many other letters, correspondence between the Byelorussian independent Government and the United States Government, but this letter was in the archives of the Czech Foreign Minister and the Communists took it and printed it.

Mr. FEIGHAN. What was the general content of that letter?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. The Byelorussian Government in 1919 sent a memorandum to President Wilson. In response to this memorandum President Wilson showed his sympathies to the Byelorussian democratic republic. There were no concrete promises to help, either material or military. In the Byelorussian memorandum the President was asked to give armed support, in the letter of President Wilson there were only sympathies shown. The Communists made a comment that the Americans wanted to help but were helpless and could not, they could not go against the proletariat and the Bolsheviks. I cannot find the copy of this newspaper in my records.

Mr. FEIGHAN. In other words, the Bolsheviks twisted that letter as propaganda in their own favor?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. Yes. It was propaganda to show that Byelorussia now cannot count on the support of the United States to create an independent state because such an appeal for support had already been made and you see what came, no answer.

Mr. FEIGHAN. No appeal has been made subsequent to the time of President Wilson, has there?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. I have one copy from the correspondence between the Byelorussian mission in Latvia and the American mission. There is one letter in which the Byelorussian diplomatic mission in Latvia asks for protection of Byelorussian officers and civilians who fled from their country. The letter reads:

OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER OF THE UNITED STATES
FOR THE BALTIC PROVINCE OF LATVIA, RIGA,
January 22, 1952.

Colonel ISAVITY,

Chief of Commission, to Latvian Democratic Republic, Riga, Latvia.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your esteemed favor of even date, I regret very much to inform you that it is impossible for me as the chief representative of America in the Baltic Provinces to take under my protection any White Ruthenian officers or civilians. I am by my Government alone authorized to render protection to citizens of the United States. With the expression of my highest respect.

(Signed) JOHN A. GADE.

I have about 15 similar letters in this file, which proves that many diplomatic representatives of America were interested in the development of the Byelorussian affairs. They always accepted memoranda, thanked for the information, but always stressed that they could not give any help.

Mr. FEIGHAN. I have two questions in one, first did the Byelorussian Government make any appeals for material assistance and help from other nations, and secondly, if so, did any of them reply with any assistance?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. Yes. In this file I have also letters and answers to them, letters which were written to all governments in Europe. The answers were different. The Scandinavian countries avoided recognition either de jure or de facto. The attitude of France was very sympathetic. In 1919 there was signed a commercial treaty for the development of Byelorussian forests. The Byelorussian diplo-

matic mission was accepted in Paris. The French Ambassador and French mission very gladly gave assistance as far as diplomatic mail was concerned. I have quite a number of documents here, but they never gave any material help. In general, no European nation gave any material support to the Byelorussians.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I have no questions. I just want to pay my tribute to Mr. Abramtschik for his many years of incessant efforts on behalf of the Byelorussian people. I know that about a year or so ago I tried to assist Mr. Abramtschik in having the United States authorities recognize the Byelorussians as a separate union and entity in psychological warfare, but I was not successful. I sincerely hope and trust that the time will come when the Byelorussian people will regain their status as an independent people and I hope that time will come very soon.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Abramtschik, what reaction do you think would be in the minds of the Byelorussian people if the United States Government established full diplomatic relationship in the form of sending an ambassador to Byelorussia and having Byelorussia send an embassy to the United States?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. It would be a great moral support to the Byelorussians, such action would be greeted by the Byelorussians. They would recognize it not as recognition of the Bolshevik rules but recognition of the nation through establishment of diplomatic relations.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you think then it would encourage them to continue their fight for independence?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. In reality it is practically impossible to fight for independence now, but undoubtedly it would be a great moral support. All such manifestations and good intentions would very much strengthen the morale of the Byelorussian population.

Mr. KERSTEN. The witness previously handed us a statement entitled "Memorandum About the Genocide Imposed Upon the Byelorussian People by the Bolsheviks." I ask you, Dr. Abramtschik, Is this your statement?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. Yes.

Mr. KERSTEN. In accordance with your previous statement to the committee this additional exhibit will be received, without objection, as part of the record. Dr. Abramtschik, I too want to pay my tribute to your long struggle for the independence of your people, and I remember conferring with you last fall and you telling me that you would be able to procure for the committee these important NKVD documents that we have received here this morning in the green folder, and I request that you bring the witness this afternoon so that we can get the full authentication of this original Soviet Communist document which shows the widespread oppression and murder of your people. Would you permit us to take this original document and, after our purposes are completed, to return it to you?

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. Would you accept a photostatic copy of it?

Mr. KERSTEN. We would prefer to have the original, but if you prefer to only give us photostatic copies, perhaps arrangements can be made for that.

Mr. ABRAMTSCHIK. I would like to have it back as soon as possible.

Mr. KERSTEN. I think it might be preferable for us to have it photostated so that we can return it to you while we are still here. We will attempt to make such arrangements so we can return the

original to you within a very short time after we got it photostated. Thank you, Dr. Abramtschik.

(Rev. Dr. John Hrynoch was sworn as a witness and testified in Ukrainian as follows:)

Mr. McTIGUE. Your name is Rev. John Hrynoch?

TESTIMONY OF DR. JOHN HRYNOCH

Reverend HRYNOCH. Yes; that is my correct name.

Mr. McTIGUE. When were you born, Father?

Reverend HRYNOCH. I was born on December 28, 1907, in the Ukraine.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you ordained in the Ukraine?

Reverend HRYNOCH. Yes, I was ordained a priest in September 1932 in the Ukraine.

Mr. McTIGUE. You studied at Innsbruck and received your doctor degree in 1933?

Reverend HRYNOCH. I went to Innsbruck in 1930 and received my doctor degree there in 1933.

Mr. McTIGUE. You also studied in Munich and Breslau and returned to the Ukraine in 1934?

Reverend HRYNOCH. That is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is it true that you remained in the Ukraine until January 1945 and that you fled because of the Russian occupation of your home?

Reverend HRYNOCH. The last time that I was in the Ukraine was on September 21, 1944.

Mr. McTIGUE. During the time you were at home, in the Ukraine, was there any underground resistance against the Communists?

Reverend HRYNOCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Was this underground movement capable of carrying out any significant operation?

Reverend HRYNOCH. The Ukrainian underground movement did not originate in the period to which I will confine my testimony. The Ukrainian liberation movement has existed for decades ever since Ukraine lost the war with Russia in 1920 and 1921. This Ukrainian liberation movement during the two decades until 1941 exhibited itself in many forms in all fields of activities. I do not want to go into details as to the historical background which developed the Ukrainian liberation movement.

I shall confine myself to an exposition on the existence and purposes of this movement from 1941 until the present day. That is for the past 14 years. At the outbreak of the German-Bolshevik war the Ukraine had great hopes that in this struggle between the two imperialistic powers they would be able to fulfill their age-long desire to form their own national form of existence in the Ukraine, a sovereign national state. Immediately after the Germans came it soon became evident what the objectives of the Germans were with regard to the Ukraine, in all branches of their activities. Germany assumed a negative attitude and began to persecute all men of Ukrainian political thought and began a social and economic exploitation of the people and in a very short time it became clear to the Ukraine people and to the organized Ukrainian liberation movement that Nazi Germany did not come to Ukraine with a positive solution regarding the Ukraine

and the other nations enslaved by the Bolshevistic Kremlin. This created a new reason, a basis for a stronger organization of the Ukrainian liberation movement whose struggle at this time, that is end of 1941, was then directed not only against the old Bolshevik Moscow but against the new occupants, Hitlerite Germany. So it happened that the Ukrainian resistance was organized not only along political lines but also in the form of armed resistance, in the form of the Ukrainian insurgent army. This army whose first beginnings go back to 1942 carried on its struggle against Nazi Germany and after the Nazis left the Ukrainian territories, that is in 1944, this army continued to exist and even until today it carries on this struggle against the Bolsheviks of Moscow.

Regarding the activities of the Ukrainian movement and the Ukrainian insurgent army, I wish to stress that manifestation of this struggle has been shown on a wide scale from the years 1942 until 1948. It is worthy to note the existence of and the struggle of the Ukrainian insurgent army, that it carried out a large number of organized, armed actions against the Nazis during their occupation of Ukraine and in later years, 1944 until 1948, against the enslavement apparatus, I have in mind the NKVD, the party operational apparatus of the new Bolshevik occupant. Under different conditions the form of the struggle had also to be changed. Today it has the character of an underground political struggle and the defense of the Ukrainian liberation underground movement. As to the more important armed actions of the Ukrainian insurgent army I wish to mention that in the year 1943 a great action was organized by Nazi Germany against those Ukrainian territories which were almost completely controlled by the Ukrainian insurgent army. I wish to add that in the summer of 1943, a territory comparative in size to that of Belgium was under the absolute control of the Ukrainian insurgent army. Special punitive divisions of the Nazis under the leadership of General von der Bach did not have the success they had anticipated. At this same time in August 1943, began the great operations of the Bolsheviks on Ukrainian territories. The Bolsheviks at this time sent under the command of one Kowpak so-called Red partisans who roamed over the entire territory of the Ukraine up to the Carpathian Mountains and participated in many battles with the Ukrainian insurgent army. It had to come to a fight because the Red partisans were murdering the Ukrainian population in order to destroy their urge for the building of an independent existence. In Karpesia there were also battles, especially in the Skol area. I know that at that place perished the chief of staff of Kowpak. The remnants of the Kowpak units then returned back to Bolshevik territory.

As to further armed actions of the Ukrainian insurgent army I wish to point out that in the summer of 1948 it came to an open battle between troops of the NKVD and the Ukrainian insurgent army. It is known to us that in the course of this struggle the NKVD General Moskalenko was killed in action by our forces. I do not want to go into details about the battles which took place in 1944 in the Province of Volenia where in the battle against the Ukrainian insurgent army, all types of weapons of war were employed including aircraft. This is one aspect of the activities of the Ukrainian liberation movement, that is, the military aspect. I wish to mention that on the basis of an estimate made up to the year 1950 on the basis of documents to which

we have access 35,000 NKVD members perished in the fight against the Ukrainian insurgent army.

Mr. McTIGUE. During what period is that?

Reverend HRYNOCH. From 1944 until the first half of 1950. If the gentlemen of the committee should like I can give information about the extent of our armed forces. In 1943 our enemies considered our strength in different ways. Some German sources stated that the UPA (Ukrainian insurgent army) had a strength of 250,000 men. The UPA high command never revealed the total strength of the insurgent forces. You gain an impression as to the size of the Ukrainian insurgent army when I note the fact that in the last officer candidate school of the Ukrainian insurgent army, which I had an opportunity of visiting in September 1944 in order to swear in, in the name of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, the officer candidates were at that time over 500 in number. This was the second officer candidates school. In September 1944 in addition to the officer candidate school there were also 3,000 armed soldiers being trained there, but I wish to stress that it is not entirely a question of the number in the Ukrainian liberation movement.

The Ukrainian population takes part and constitutes a liberation movement for the entire Ukrainian nation. All the Ukrainian people fight in one way or another for the same aims and motives as do their own armed units of the UPA. In no other way could one explain that after 9 years following the conclusion of World War II that there is still a political and armed resistance in Ukraine, a political and armed resistance which received no assistance from outside sources, and must rely solely on the assistance of its own people. It should be noted that although the underground movement may change the form of this struggle or the number of active participants, still behind the entire movement is the entire Ukrainian population. Another aspect of the struggle of the UPA is the political, ideological contents of this struggle. It may seem paradoxical that an army has also a political ideological character, but it was necessary to keep the Ukrainian population constantly informed for what and how they should fight. Therefore in 1943 a pamphlet of the UPA appeared which was published in over 10,000 copies in which it was clearly outlined against whom and for what the Ukrainian liberation movement is fighting. I wish to add at this point that as a result of the expansion of the Ukrainian liberation struggle the highest organ of the Ukrainian liberation movement, the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council was formed in July 1944. The platform was the same as that developed and spread by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in 1943.

I wish to give in brief the basic ideals and objectives of the UPA: The UPA was fighting against Russian communism and German nazism, for a free and sovereign democratic Ukrainian state, against Russian Bolshevik imperialism, for the outlawing of national oppression and exploitation of one nation by another, the dismemberment of the Russian Empire and the creation of free, independent national states of the enslaved nations on the ruins of the Soviet Union, for the democratic form of government to replace totalitarian monopoly systems, a new and just social order, the restoration of freedom and dignity of the human person, freedom of religion, press, and assembly, the equality of all citizens of the future Ukrainian state regardless of their race or creed. These were the basic concepts of the Ukrainian

Insurgent Army and later of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council. I wish to stress that it would have been impossible to mobilize the population for the battle against Bolshevism without a positive political program such as these. The Ukrainian worker in the Don Basin or the Ukrainian peasant wanted to know exactly not only against what he was fighting but also for what he was fighting. He wanted to know what follows after the ruin of the Bolshevik regime and the Nazi regime, he wanted to know if he would have first of all national freedom and individual freedom and it was necessary to provide him with an answer. He even had to have an answer to what will be the future economic social order in the Ukraine, will it be a capitalist system, will it be a system which existed until 1917 on the territories of Czarist Russia, will it be a new, just social-economic order.

He also wanted to know as a worker who was working in the factory just what his particular role in that would be, to what extent he will participate in the benefits. He wanted to know what would be his security for all days, whether he has the right to vacation and to all these detailed questions we had to give him, the worker, an answer. Nazi Germany also announced its slogans of war against Bolshevism. Goebbels spoke of a new Europe. The Ukrainian underground movement gave him its answer. At this time in 1942 and 1943 I had the opportunity of working in the propaganda center of the Ukrainian liberation movement. At that time I also had the task of revealing the character of the Nazi. In 1942, in October or November, appeared the first edition of the ideological organ of the organization of Ukrainian nationalists and in this particular edition there was an article under the heading, "The Aims of Nazi Germany." In 1943 there was a special edition in pamphlet form entitled, "The Aims and Methods of Nazi Germany in the Enslaved Lands." The author of this article, the pamphlet and the article therein was myself, under the pen name of E. M. Kowalenko. Also in answer to the propaganda of a new Europe there was an article, "New Europe and Old Lies." There was also an article on the true character of the Nazi occupation in France, for example mentioning the swastika over the Eiffel tower. In this article the true face and purpose of Nazi policy in the Ukraine was revealed. The Nazis had the intention of making out of the Ukraine a colony, although it concealed its motives with slogans about an undefined new Europe.

Mr. McTIGUE. Father, is the resistance, the underground still active in Ukraine? Your testimony took us from 1941 up through 1952. Is the resistance still as powerful and effective in the Ukraine now as it was then?

Reverend HRYNOCH. I can state positively that the organized Ukrainian resistance movements exists to the present day. I have many documents which I would like to introduce into the record proving the existence of the Ukrainian resistance movement in the past few years.

Mr. McTIGUE. What kind of documents are they?

Reverend HRYNOCH. These are copies of political literature, educational literature for the youth, statistical information about NKVD terror, statistical information about deportation activities in the Ukraine following the conclusion of World War II.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is it common knowledge that this kind of information that you referred to is being disseminated in the Ukraine? We do not want to affect in any way the security of those who were in the resistance and so effectively fighting communism.

Reverend HRYNOCH. These documents which I wish to put into the record will in no way compromise the underground movement. I also have documents which I cannot put into the record, but which I can show to the members of the committee.

Mr. McTIGUE. Can we see the documents that you wish to submit for the record?

Reverend HRYNOCH. Yes. [Documents were handed to Mr. McTigue.] Those can be placed into the record. For the information of the committee I also would like to submit two original pamphlets printed in the Ukraine by the Ukrainian resistance, but which I do not want to put into the record because they are originals.

Mr. BUSBEY. Father, will you leave these documents with the committee, so that we can enter them into the record after the committee has had a chance to study them?

Reverend HRYNOCH. That is agreeable.

Mr. McTIGUE. I have no more questions.

Mr. BUSBEY. I have no questions.

Mr. FEIGHAN. I have read considerably about many of the exploits of the Ukrainian insurgent army. I know the history of their struggle and also of the underground which deserves much praise and encouragement. Father, previous to September 1, 1944, when you left the Ukraine had you ever heard the Voice of America?

Reverend HRYNOCH. I did not.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Am I correct, sir, you left September 1, 1944?

Reverend HRYNOCH. September 1944; yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. You have, of course, contacts at the present time with the underground?

Reverend HRYNOCH. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Well, from your contacts, have you learned anything about broadcasts of RFE, Radio Free Europe, and the Voice of America?

Reverend HRYNOCH. Yes. In 1950 we received from the underground through our channels, a letter addressed to the United States State Department to the Voice of America regarding the broadcasts to the Soviet Union.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Is that in Ukrainian or is that translated into English?

Reverend HRYNOCH. We have here an English translation.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Father, are you familiar with the response the underground got after sending that letter?

Reverend HRYNOCH. As far as the suggestions contained in the letter to the Voice of America regarding the radio programs beamed to the Ukraine, no changes have occurred. We only received from the former Director of the Voice of America an acknowledgment of the receipt of this letter.

Mr. FEIGHAN. What were the general contents of the letter?

Reverend HRYNOCH. This letter contained a number of suggestions to the Voice of America as to the form and content their radio programs should adopt if they wished to have success among their radio listeners in Ukraine.

Mr. FEIGHAN. What were the general suggestions that were made?

Reverend HRYNOCH. The first suggestion was that the Voice of America, in fact, the Western World, when speaking to the peoples of the Soviet Union, should try to bring them out of the apathy and terror concerning the Bolsheviks in which they are now. The Western World must declare that these peoples should not feel defenseless, abandoned by the Western World; that the Western World sympathizes with them, is prepared to assist them; that the Western World is prepared to make public, to uncover all the crimes which are being perpetrated in the Soviet Union, to show that even the powerful NKVD is not all-powerful; and that throughout history every criminal act against humanity has eventually been punished. The present economic social order in the Soviet Union should not be criticized from the West, from the capitalist standpoint. It is a fact that even under the severe regime of the Bolsheviks, the people have attained certain rights. In appealing to the peoples of the Soviet Union, an individual appeal should be made to every nation in the Soviet Union. At the same time, when Bolshevik Moscow is making capital of the slightest indication of discontent anywhere in the Western World, the Western World, at the same time, maintains a strange silence about the facts of the anti-Bolshevik struggle within the Soviet Union.

I wish to emphasize that only in 2 years, 1949-51, in the Ukraine there were over 150 different underground publications which were printed. All our efforts to introduce these materials to the West in the hope that in the West they would find understanding, or at least, interest, were unsuccessful. I wish to add that recently I had the opportunity of reading a book which was given out by some so-called Russian Institute for the Study of Soviet Problems here in Munich, a book concerned with the underground movements between 1941 and 1945 in the Soviet Union, in which absolutely no mention was made of the existence of an underground movement at that time in the Ukraine.

Mr. FEIGHAN. By whom was that put out?

Reverend HRYNOCH. This book was published by the Institute for the Study of the History and Culture of the U. S. S. R., an American supported institute existing here in Munich. This institute is an offshoot of the so-called American Committee for the Liberation From Bolshevism.

Mr. FEIGHAN. You mean to tell me, and I believe you do, that in a book purporting to speak about the underground movements in the U. S. S. R. they have just confined their writings to Muscovy; to the Russians?

Reverend HRYNOCH. I wish to add that in speaking of the partisan movement in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, one of the largest republics is Ukraine where the largest degree of partisan activity is always in evidence, and this book maintains an absolute silence about the partisan movements in the Ukraine. Here is a map purporting to show the territory in which the partisans, the alleged partisans spoken of in this book, operate. This is only an illustration of the silence, an example of the silence maintained by certain elements in the West in regards to the Ukrainian liberation movement.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Well, on that map are there indications of resistance movements in any of the other 15 non-Russian captive nations within the U. S. S. R.?

Reverend HRYNOCH. There is some mention. I mean, if you will look at the map, gentleman.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Then apparently it is the object of that book to refer to every citizen within the U. S. S. R. as a Russian, and it fails entirely to recognize that there are within the U. S. S. R. at least 15 separate and distinct captive, non-Russian nations such as Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Byelorussia, Armenia, and Turkestan?

Reverend HRYNOCH. That is quite obvious. I do not know the author of this book, but objectively I can say that it just proves the silence about this important question.

Mr. BUSBEY. Not only the silence, but the ineffectiveness; wouldn't you say?

Reverend HRYNOCH. That's right.

Mr. FEIGHAN. The people of the Ukraine then, in your opinion, from the so-called American Committee for Liberation From Bolshevism, from such a book as that, would get no hope or encouragement, morally at least, for their ultimate liberation and the opportunity for self-determination so that they might become a sovereign, independent Ukraine?

Reverend HRYNOCH. This is correct.

Mr. FEIGHAN. That is all.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Chairman, I move that this letter from the Ukrainian Liberation Underground, which has been translated into English be made a part of our record, after the good father has identified it as a true translation.

Mr. KERSTEN. Will you mark this as an exhibit, "Munich NR No. 3." (Whereupon the reporter marked the document as requested.)

Mr. KERSTEN. Father, I show you Munich Exhibit No. 18 and ask you what that is? What are those several papers that you hold in your hand?

Reverend HRYNOCH. This is an appeal of the Ukrainian underground to the Voice of America, signed by Major Poltava, Chief of the Information Bureau of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council in the Ukraine.

Mr. KERSTEN. Chief of what?

Reverend HRYNOCH. Chief of the Bureau of Information of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council in the Ukraine. And this is not only the voice of Major Poltava, but in and on behalf of all the people of the Ukraine, on behalf of the entire underground, on the basis of the experience of the Ukrainian people, and on the basis of the experience of the Ukrainian underground.

Mr. KERSTEN. Exhibit 18 appears to be a document written in English and I take it, it is a translation. Is it the copy of what you have just related?

Reverend HRYNOCH. This is a translation of the original.

Mr. KERSTEN. Is it a true and correct translation of the original?

Reverend HRYNOCH. It is.

Mr. KERSTEN. When did you get the original, Father?

Reverend HRYNOCH. We received the material at the end of 1950, but the letter enclosing the appeal was written in August of 1950. In other words, it left the Ukraine in August of 1950 and arrived here the end of 1950.

Mr. KERSTEN. Are you satisfied from your experience, from receiving information from inside the Ukraine, that it correctly represents

the sentiments of the feeling of resistance in the Ukraine against communism?

Reverend HRYNOCH. As a long-time participant in the liberation struggle, I feel it is 100 percent in accordance with the ideas and hopes of the Ukrainian people.

Mr. KERSTEN. And it correctly represents the resistance in the Ukraine?

Reverend HRYNOCH. Yes. I wish to add that Major Poltava who signed this appeal received no reply, and that he was killed in combat against the Bolsheviks in the winter of 1951 and 1952.

Reverend HRYNOCH. I wish to add my statement which I have prepared and signed for the committee to the committee record.

Mr. KERSTEN. Is that the same thing as this?

The INTERPRETER. No; it is the personal statement of the father.

Mr. KERSTEN. Munich exhibit NR 4, a copy of the formal statement submitted by the witness, may, without objection, be made an exhibit in our record. And exhibit 18 may be made an exhibit in our record.

Reverend HRYNOCH. In addition I wish to add to the record a photocopy of an original document which clearly indicates the existence of the Ukrainian insurgent army and the Ukrainian resistance movement. This document is an order of the Ministry of the Interior of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic dated the 30th of December 1949, and signed by the Minister of National Defense of the Soviet Socialist Republic, Lt. Gen. M. Kowalczyk. This document assures the members of the Ukrainian resistance movement that if they surrender themselves voluntarily, and in a penitent spirit to the Soviet authorities, that they will not be charged with criminal responsibility for their actions; in other words, an amnesty.

Mr. KERSTEN. Can you leave this exhibit as a part of our records?

Reverend HRYNOCH. I can leave this exhibit with the committee.

Mr. KERSTEN. Munich exhibit NR 5 is the exhibit to which you have just referred, a Soviet document, and it may be received without objection.

Mr. BUSBEY. Do you think that any of the members of the underground who may have taken the Russians at their word and given themselves up, were ever treated as the document promised?

Reverend HRYNOCH. I wish to stress that this is not the first such order, the first such appeal, to the Ukrainian insurgents. Such appeals have appeared since 1946, and absolutely no confidence has been placed in them by the Ukrainian insurgents.

Mr. BUSBEY. I notice this book you mentioned in your testimony, says, on the first page: "Institute for the Study of the History and Culture of the U. S. S. R." Will you tell us about the organization that published this book?

Reverend HRYNOCH. I can only make a general statement that works of this kind certainly do not take the proper approach to the problem of the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union, and certainly have far from the desired effect in this matter.

Mr. BUSBEY. I was trying to learn something about the organization that issued this booklet.

Reverend HRYNOCH. I know that this is an organization which is based upon the idea of nonpredetermination, and which avoids completely the problem of the non-Russian nations.

Mr. BUSBEY. Is this organization located in Munich?

Reverend HRYNOCH. The institute is in Munich.

Mr. BUSBEY. Father, do you know if this book has been published in any other language besides Ukrainian?

Reverend HRYNOCH. That is not known to me. The book is in the Russian language.

Mr. BUSBEY. This book is in the Russian language, instead of in the Ukrainian language?

Reverend HRYNOCH. The language is Russian, but I am not so much concerned with the language in which it is written, but of importance is the fact that it maintains a complete silence about the Ukrainian liberation movement.

Mr. BUSBEY. Is the silence maintained on the liberation movements in other nations within the Soviet Union?

Reverend HRYNOCH. Yes.

Mr. BUSBEY. And this name, Institute for the Study of the History and Culture of the U. S. S. R., is the name of the organization that published this book.

Reverend HRYNOCH. I would gather that from the book.

Mr. BUSBEY. Father, do you have any knowledge as to whether this organization is a privately endowed organization, or one that is subsidized by some government, including the United States Government?

Rev. HRYNOCH. I am not acquainted with the matter to that extent that I would be able to give an answer to that question.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that some member of our staff be requested to contact this institute, and ascertain whether they published the book in English; in order that we may have a copy for our committee files.

Mr. McTIGUE. I will be glad to follow through on that.

Mr. KERSTEN. I take it, Mr. Busbey, you just want the committee to have that for study to find out whether or not its contents are something we might probably highly disapprove of.

Mr. BUSBEY. Well, I want it available so that the members of the committee may make their own evaluation of it. I do not want it made a part of the record, but it should be available in the committee files.

Mr. KERSTEN. This book?

Mr. BUSBEY. No; one in English.

Mr. KERSTEN. Mr. Counsel, if you can follow through on that, I think you should.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is there any reason why we can't keep that, Father?

Reverend HRYNOCH. I borrowed that from someone here; that is not my book.

The owner has just said you can keep it.

Mr. McTIGUE. Thank you.

Mr. KERSTEN. Munich exhibit NR 6 is a folder, orange-colored folder, containing a large number of photostates in the Ukrainian language, and attached thereto are English translations, which folder and enclosures have previously been referred to in the testimony of this witness, and as I understand it, are received for the purpose of study?

Mr. McTIGUE. That is correct, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. KERSTEN. Without objection, they will be so received.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Father, from you contacts with the underground,

could you tell the committee whether or not you learned what impact, if any, the Radio Liberation has in the Ukraine?

Reverend HRYNOCH. In information received from the Ukraine through our channels, in addition to the appeal which has been already submitted to the records there, the statements are all to the effect that in broadcasts to Ukraine there is no concrete realization shown of the problem of the non-Russian nations. As far as Radio Liberation is concerned, I know nothing of its radio broadcasts to the Ukraine.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Well, it is quite obvious then, that any broadcast of the Voice of America or Radio Liberation to the people of the Ukraine that fails to recognize their age-long desires and right to national sovereignty would offer them no encouragement, and, if anything, would give them the impression that we are not at all concerned with them as a nation?

Reverend HRYNOCH. This is correct; and I wish to add that not only do such radio programs fail to give positive moral support, but, on the contrary, they cause disappointment in the stagnation which is occurring in the political circles of the West.

Mr. FEIGHAN. One final question, Father: Do you feel that it would give moral and political support to the Ukrainian nation—I mean the people themselves, including the insurgent army and the underground—if the United States would establish a diplomatic mission to Kiev, including an Ambassador?

Reverend HRYNOCH. I wish to stress one point. The representatives of the Ukraine who today have a seat in the United Nations and the so-called Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic are not representatives of the Ukrainian people. But from the morale side, the fact of diplomatic recognition by the West of the Ukrainian state, even though this nation is presently enslaved by a foreign aggressor, this, of course, would be morally correct.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you think it would encourage the Ukrainian people, as such, putting aside any recognition of their own puppet government officials?

Reverend HRYNOCH. The recognition of the sovereignty of the Ukrainian people, of the Ukrainian nation, is and would be a positive act, but the question of maintaining relations with those who do not represent the Ukrainian people is another question.

Mr. KERSTEN. Thank you, Father; your testimony has been of great benefit and help to our committee.

(Mr. Mykola Kowalewskyj was sworn as a witness and testified through the interpreter in Ukrainian as follows:)

Mr. McTIGUE. Your name is Mykola Kowalewskyj, M-y-k-o-l-a K-o-w-a-l-e-w-s-k-y-j, and you were born September 3, 1892, in the Ukraine; is that correct?

TESTIMONY OF MYKOLA KOWALEWSKYJ

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. 1892; yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were Minister of Agriculture in the Government of the independent Ukrainian Republic and leader of the Ukrainian Peasant Association in the period August 1917 through 1920; is that correct?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. That is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. And in 1926 you were a manager of the editorial office of the Ukrainian Information Service in Warsaw?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. That is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. In December 1946 you were special correspondent of the British agency Exchange Telegraph for Austria; is that correct?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. Yes; until 1949.

Mr. McTIGUE. And since 1950 and up to the present time you are chief editor of the press agency Express, in Innsbruck, Austria, where you are now living; is that correct?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. The Ukrainian Nation established its national independence after the breakup of the Czarist Russian Empire in 1917; isn't that correct?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where was the seat of government located?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. In Kiev. Kiev was from early times the capital of Ukraine during three historical eras—during the era of the Kiev princes; during the Hetman government, in the Hetman governments in the 17th century; and, finally, in the years 1917 to 1921.

Mr. McTIGUE. Can you tell us about the first efforts of the Bolsheviks to destroy the independent Ukrainian Nation?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. Yes; I can. On the 4th of December 1917 Lenin's government sent a note to our Government recognizing the independence of the Ukrainian National Government. I have here copies of two documents which I would like to place in the records. One is the recognition of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic by the Russian Soviet Government in 1917 and 1918 and the other document is the Soviet of People's Commissaries of the Russian Soviet Federative Republic's authorizing a Dr. Manuilsky to conduct negotiations with the representatives of the Ukrainian Government in order to conclude peace between the Russian Soviet Socialist Federative Republic and the Ukrainian Government, and also to sign the protocol of the peace treaty.

Mr. KERSTEN. The documents that you have been speaking of, Munich exhibits NR 7 and NR 8, are English translations, and I will ask you if you are familiar with the originals of these documents?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. It is a translation from the original, and is a correct translation of the original.

Mr. KERSTEN. Without objection, they will be received as true copies of the originals, translated copies, of course. Will you continue?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. Therefore Lenin's government recognized the Ukrainian state not only de facto but also de jure. But already at the beginning of December 1917 an infiltration began of agents of the Russian Bolshevik Party with the aim, and on orders from the Central by Lenin, to cause disorganization and a political revolution. For this purpose the Bolshevik organization in Kiev, strengthened by the infiltration of agents, organized an insurrection in January 1918.

Mr. KERSTEN. That was about a month after this recognition; is that right?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. Yes; that's correct.

Mr. KERSTEN. Did the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic declare war on the Ukrainian nation?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. Yes; they gave an ultimatum.

Mr. KERSTEN. When?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. There was an important episode in December of 1917.

Mr. KERSTEN. I would just like to get that date of the declaration of war.

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. 18th of December 1917.

Mr. KERSTEN. Just a few days after the recognition?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. Yes.

Mr. KERSTEN. Continue, please.

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. One of the reasons for this ultimatum was that the Cossacks of the Don region were returning home through the Ukraine. This was not to Lenin's liking, because the Don Cossacks had at that time proclaimed their close cooperation with the Ukrainian Republic. Then, as a result, Lenin, as chief of the Soviet state, and Trotzky, as the National Commissar of Foreign Affairs, sent an ultimatum to our government. This ultimatum was received by me personally on the 18th of December 1917.

Mr. KERSTEN. What date of December?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. 18th of December 1917. I wish to enter a copy, a translated copy, of the ultimatum in the record.

Mr. KERSTEN. Munich exhibit NR 9, as I understand it, therefore, is an English translation and a true translation of the original ultimatum received by you from Trotzky; is that correct?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. That is correct.

Mr. KERSTEN. In what capacity were you acting at that time?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. At that time I was a minister of the Government, a member of the Government, Minister of Agriculture. But at that time, because I was also the head of the Committee of the Ukrainian Peasants Union, the biggest organization in the Ukraine, such matters were not settled without my knowledge, and therefore I personally knew of this. This ultimatum was presented telegraphically from Petrograd, addressed to the Ukrainian Ministerial Council, and in this way I directly received this ultimatum.

Mr. KERSTEN. Were you a part of the Council?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. Yes, of course.

Mr. KERSTEN. So that the ultimatum was addressed to the council and you, as a member of the council, had knowledge of it; is that correct?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. Yes.

Mr. KERSTEN. Just one more point. This ultimatum is dated December 18, 1917. Did something happen on December 17? As I understood you previously, something was said about a declaration of war on December 17, the day before.

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. This was a premeditated action of the Bolsheviks against the Ukrainian State.

Mr. KERSTEN. What was a premeditated action?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. The Russian Soviets demanded that the RADA hand over the government to the All Ukrainian Soviet.

Mr. KERSTEN. What form did the demand take? I mean, was it a note or just what was it?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. Not in the form of a note, but the Kiev organization of Bolsheviks called a congress of soviets in Kiev on the 17th of December, attended by 1,200 people. The Ukrainian Soviet group

was under the leadership of the well known Russian Communist, Piatikov.

Mr. KERSTEN. Just to perhaps arrive at the point, did that Communist congress adopt some kind of resolution or action?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. Piatikov proposed a resolution, proposed that the governmental powers of the RADA be handed over to the council of soviets.

Mr. KERSTEN. Did that resolution pass?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. Only 60 out of the some 1,200 representatives voted for this resolution. It was refused. The majority of the congress repudiated this attempt on the part of Piatikov and physically intimidated the 60 who had voted for the resolution.

Mr. KERSTEN. Just a moment. I would like to find out in what form the declaration of war came. That is all I want to know.

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. In the form of the ultimatum.

Mr. KERSTEN. By ultimatum?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. The ultimatum which was just passed into the record.

Mr. KERSTEN. That is on December 18; is that the date war was declared?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. They received our answer on that day.

Mr. KERSTEN. No, no. I am trying merely to find out if this is the declaration of war you are talking about, Munich exhibit NR 9.

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. No, that is not the declaration of war; that is the ultimatum.

Mr. KERSTEN. Well, what was the declaration of war? That is what I am asking.

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. The declaration of war came several days later on the basis of our refusal of the terms of the ultimatum.

Mr. KERSTEN. I see. Then what did you refer to previously on the 17th; was that something in connection with the Communist congress in the Ukraine?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. The Bolsheviks had thought that this congress would have the character of a Bolshevik congress, but they erred because 90 percent of the delegates who came to Kiev, for what they thought would be a Bolshevik congress, were anti-Bolsheviks. And therefore, the Bolshevik members of this congress left and fled Kiev. But the congress of the Soviets which they had called passed a resolution declaring confidence in the Ukrainian Central RADA.

Mr. KERSTEN. At any rate the Bolsheviks did make war in the Ukraine and they destroyed the independent government, did they not?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. Yes, on January 8 an offensive was begun by the Bolshevik army, under the command of General Muravijov, and when this army captured Kiev, an order of the day was published by this general, order of the day No. 14. In this order of the day it was plainly stated that "we have brought bolshevism to the Ukraine on the points of our bayonets." I wish to offer this translated copy of the order of the day as proof that the northern Russian armies marched against the Ukraine.

Mr. KERSTEN. Will you continue, Mr. Witness.

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. I wish to emphasize that there was no Bolshevik Party as such in Ukraine. The so-called Communist Party of Ukraine was organized in Moscow. The first congress of this party

took place in June 1918, and the second congress of this party also took place in Moscow in October of the same year. Thus this organization was formed in Moscow and when in 1919 in the month of March the Russian Bolshevik Army began a new offensive against the Ukraine, this Communist Ukrainian group organized in Moscow moved along with the army in the course of this offensive. They went in the footsteps of the Bolshevik Army and organized a soviet government in the Ukraine.

As proof that this was purely a Russian action I wish to enter in the record a copy of the proclamation of the so-called Revolutionary Committee of the Ukraine, established in Moscow in March 1917. In this proclamation, which is a historical document, it is stated quite clearly that the Russian Red Army is entering Ukrainian territory in order to extend over the Ukraine Soviet rule. I wish to enter a copy of this document into the record.

Mr. KERSTEN. Are the copies that you have shown us, Munich exhibit NR 10 and NR 11, true and correct translations and copies of the original?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. Yes.

Mr. KERSTEN. They may be received. How long was it before the Bolshevik armies conquered the Ukrainian nation?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. Three years.

Mr. KERSTEN. And what part did Leon Trotzky play in the destruction of the independent Ukrainian nation?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. Trotzky played a great role in the destruction of the Ukrainian state and the persecution of the Ukrainian people.

Mr. KERSTEN. Tell us briefly what he did.

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. He was in favor of the Marxist theory which by that time was dominant in Russia and which denied the right of self-determination of nations. Trotzky propagated a world revolution, and in order to attain this goal it was necessary to bring about the greatest possible centralization. In that centralization there was no room for the independence of individual nations such as the Ukraine. Therefore, in the summer of 1919 and later, Trotzky as supreme commander of the Red Armies at that time came to the Ukraine, that is to that part of the Ukraine which was then occupied, for instance the Kharkov area, and carried out a large number of bloody executions.

Mr. KERSTEN. Did you have any personal dealings with Trotzky?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. Only through the telegraph. At the time that Trotzky sent the ultimatum.

Mr. KERSTEN. During this war with the Bolsheviks did any western power attempt or offer to mediate between the Ukrainian nation and the Bolsheviks?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. Yes.

Mr. KERSTEN. Which nations?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. There was one attempt—

Mr. KERSTEN. Which nations?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. Switzerland. One Swiss political figure, Von Platen, who was a personal friend of Lenin, he came to our Government and then a formula was worked out for the mediation, and our Government laid down the condition in which the war could be halted. But Lenin declined these conditions and the mediation of Von Platen was thereby unsuccessful.

Mr. KERSTEN. The Russian Federative Socialist Republic, however, did recognize the Ukrainian nation; did it not?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. Yes; the Russian Federative Soviet Socialist Republic recognized the Ukrainian State on December 4, 1917.

Mr. KERSTEN. And then they proceeded to make war upon it and to destroy it over a period of several years; is that right?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. Yes; and on December 24, 1918, Lenin's government annulled its recognition of the Ukrainian state. This was in line with a Bolshevistic theory concerning the national problem in which the Communist Party recognized the right of individual people to national independence, but only when the national independence of a given state was in the interests of the Russian proletariat. This is the fifth point in the so-called Lenin Theses on the national question. Therefore, in 1917, in accordance with this principle Lenin recognized the independence of the Ukrainian State and a year later annulled this recognition, motivating this with the interests of the Russian proletariat.

Mr. KERSTEN. After the Bolsheviks conquered the Ukrainian nation and communized it, were there some Ukrainians in the new government?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. In 1920, when the Bolsheviks militarily occupied the Ukraine and the Ukrainian Communist Party organized in Moscow could begin its activity on Ukrainian territory, the then general secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukraine was present-day Foreign Minister of the U. S. S. R., V. Molotov-Skriabim. That is the right name of Molotov, and Molotov is a party psuedo.

Mr. KERSTEN. So his real family name is Skriabim?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. His real family name is Skriabim.

Mr. KERSTEN. So the present Foreign Minister of the U. S. S. R. Molotov was the first secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukraine; is that right?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. Yes; that is right.

Mr. KERSTEN. Did you ever have any contact with him during these years in any way?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. No.

Mr. KERSTEN. What was Molotov's attitude toward the Ukrainian people?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. In November 1920, when Molotov began governing from Kharkov, mass arrests were ordered of the Ukrainian intelligentsia and initiated political trials—so-called show trials—against Ukrainians. As a result, in December 1920, there was the first such political trial against 18 leaders of the Ukrainian Peasant Union, which then was headed by Petrianko and the former Prime Minister of independent Ukraine, Holubovitch. After this, additional political trials were instigated and simultaneously Molotov organized a great so-called pacification action against the Ukrainian population. Entire villages were surrounded by punitive units of special groups of the GPU, and when the villagers—that is, the peasants—resisted Mr. Molotov had nothing against it when fire was opened against these villagers by artillery pieces, and these villagers were leveled to the ground. I accuse Molotov-Skriabim of mass murders of peasants and workers in the Ukraine, which he executed and organized from November 1920 to December 1921. Molotov is guilty of the crime of genocide.

Mr. KERSTEN. Is this the same Molotov that sits around conference tables here in Europe and elsewhere for the Soviet Union?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. Yes; this is the same Molotov whom I saw not so long ago in Geneva.

Mr. KERSTEN. He started out, according to what you say, back in the early twenties as a mass murderer; is that right?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. Yes; as a murderer and, I emphasize, as a mass murderer.

Mr. KERSTEN. Looking back on these events when the Bolsheviks crushed the independence of Ukraine, do you feel that the Ukrainian people are still struggling for their national independence?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. The Ukrainian national movement was constantly alive under the Bolshevik occupation. Until 1930 Ukrainian territories which were far from railway lines were often in a state of open insurrection. From 1930 on the tactics of the Ukrainian opposition movement were changed and concentrated on the task of destroying the Communist Party from within. In 1933, when the second secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party—that is, after Kadovic there was Postishev—251,000 members of the Ukrainian Communist Party were arrested and charged with resistance. These statistics are not of my imagination, but they are official statistics as a result of the so-called workers and peasants inspection in the Ukraine, signed by the commissar responsible for the inspection, Suchomlin, and proclaimed quite official by the Soviet press.

Mr. KERSTEN. I show you exhibit NR 12 and ask you what that is?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. This is a composition of the Ukrainian Parliament at the time when it proclaimed its independence.

Mr. KERSTEN. And before the Bolsheviks destroyed the free government; is that right?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. Yes.

Mr. KERSTEN. And you of your own knowledge know that is true and correct as set forth in that exhibit; is that correct?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. Exactly.

Mr. KERSTEN. I show you Munich exhibit NR 13 and ask you what that is?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. This is a diplomatic note sent by France to the Government of Ukraine on December 29, 1917, in which the Ukrainian Government was recognized de facto by France.

Mr. KERSTEN. I ask you what exhibit NR 14 is.

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. This is a diplomatic note from Great Britain to the Government of the Ukraine, signed by Colonel Bagge, recognizing the Ukrainian Government de facto.

Mr. KERSTEN. And exhibits NR 13 and NR 14 are true and correct copies of the originals as they are translated?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. Yes.

Mr. KERSTEN. And exhibit NR 15, look at it, is an English translation of a fuller, more factual statement of the witness which he himself made out with regard to these facts; is that right?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. Yes.

Mr. KERSTEN. Without objection, these exhibits referred to in this witness' testimony up to exhibit NR 15 may be received.

Mr. BUSHEY. Mr. Chairman, I should like to ask just one question. All these occurrences that you have testified to here this afternoon

ook place after the Bolsheviks, under Lenin and Trotzky, had overthrown the Kerensky regime on November 7, 1917?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. Yes; that is so.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Is there any particular connection between the fact that the Russians recognized the Ukraine on December 4 and later on the 18th issued that ultimatum?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. That has this significance, that it is fully in accordance with the recognized principle that the Communist government may recognize the right of self-determination and even the independence of individual nations when this furthers the interests of the Russian state. On December 4 Lenin's government had difficulties. These were both internal and external difficulties. But by December 18 Lenin had been informed that the so-called Central Powers, Austria, Hungary, Germany, Bulgaria, who were in a state of war against the Russian Empire were ready to discuss peace with Lenin and the reconstruction of the Russian Empire on the basis of the borders that existed during the Czar. Then as a result of this on December 18 the recognition of the Ukrainian state became inopportune for Lenin, and, therefore, he sent this ultimatum.

Mr. KERSTEN. The fact that Russia recognized the Ukraine did not hereby make it less difficult for them to conquer the Ukraine?

Mr. KOWALEWSKYJ. That is right. The fact of the matter is that Lenin also gave a new interpretation to the idea of the independent existence of the Ukraine. He recognized the independence of the Ukrainian state, but of a Soviet Ukraine, and, therefore, that is why, when in 1920 the Ukraine was militarily occupied, Lenin gave out a directive concerning the formation of a Ukrainian Soviet republic, and this Soviet Ukrainian Republic lasted in that particular form until 1923. But the aim of this, as Stalin later said, and this is to quote him:

There are Ukrainians in the U. S. S. R., but there are also Ukrainians in Poland, in Rumania, and in Czechoslovakia, that is within the boundaries of these states which, according to Bolshevistic terminology, are capitalistic and in which a revolution should be caused.

Therefore, having formed a Soviet Ukrainian Republic, Lenin and later Stalin had hopes that this would have a revolutionary effect in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania.

Mr. KERSTEN. Thank you.

(Mr. Karolis Drungas was called and duly sworn and testified through the Lithuanian interpreter, who was also sworn.)

Mr. KERSTEN. Will you state your full name, please?

TESTIMONY OF KAROLIS DRUNGAS

Mr. DRUNGAS. Drungas, Karolis is my first name.

Mr. KERSTEN. Mr. Drungas, I show you a statement, Munich Exhibit 31, and ask you if that is your statement?

Mr. DRUNGAS. That is correct.

Mr. KERSTEN. Is it a true and correct statement?

Mr. DRUNGAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. KERSTEN. You got out of Communist-dominated Lithuania in the year 1945, is that right?

Mr. DRUNGAS. That is correct, the end of 1945.

Mr. DRUNGAS. Yes, 5 months in 1945.

Mr. KERSTEN. During that time did you have conversations with Russian or Soviet MGB officers?

Mr. DRUNGAS. Yes, sir; I was arrested after I was returned to Lithuania from a Nazi prison.

Mr. KERSTEN. Was there a certain man called Vorancov whom you then met?

Mr. DRUNGAS. Yes, after my arrest I was interrogated by Colonel Vorancov for 5 days, and after that for some time indoctrinated and questioned by him in his private home.

Mr. KERSTEN. And you set forth the details of the questioning by him and also other Soviet MGB?

Mr. DRUNGAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. KERSTEN. I have read your statement and I deem it to be a very important one, particularly on the real attitude of the Communists toward those who had fought the Nazis. Do you recall any statements by any Communist police officials with regard to those Lithuanians who had fought the Nazis?

Mr. DRUNGAS. Yes, sir. Vorancov told me that those who fought against Hitler may also be the enemies of the Soviet Union, because the Lithuanian underground movement during the German occupation was a democratic movement and had ties with the western countries.

Mr. KERSTEN. No further questions. Your statement will be received and made part of the record. Thank you.

(Mr. Drungas' statement will be found in the committee files.)

Mr. Pranas Valiulis was called and duly sworn and testified through the Lithuanian interpreter as follows:

Mr. KERSTEN. Will you give us your full name, please?

TESTIMONY OF PRANAS VALIULIS

Mr. VALIULIS. Pranas Valiulis.

Mr. KERSTEN. Do you have a written statement, Mr. Valiulis?

Mr. VALIULIS. Yes.

Mr. KERSTEN. Do you have an English translation of it?

Mr. VALIULIS. No, sir, unfortunately not.

Mr. KERSTEN. Does your statement written in Lithuanian pertain to the executions in Lithuania?

Mr. VALIULIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. KERSTEN. We would like to receive this statement of yours in Lithuanian and we can have it translated into English when we return to the United States, is that satisfactory with you?

Mr. VALIULIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. KERSTEN. I show you Munich Exhibit 32 and ask you if that is your statement that you have just been talking about?

Mr. VALIULIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. KERSTEN. Would you please sign the last page of it at the bottom?

(Witness complied.)

Mr. KERSTEN. Is Munich exhibit NR No. 16, the paper that you have just signed, a true and correct statement?

Mr. VALIULIS. My statement is true and correct.

Mr. KERSTEN. Thank you.

The witness was excused.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Chairman, before we adjourn today I should like to make this observation:

Inasmuch as our hearings in Munich on the subject of Communist aggression, have been open to the public, I think it is reasonable to assume that there may have been some Communists in the audience. I hope that any Communists who may have been present will profit by the experiences recounted by these many witnesses who have appeared before our committee; and that they will renounce communism and join the forces of the free world in working against it.

Mr. BONIN. I wish to join in those sentiments, because I, too, feel that we had Communist sympathizers and actual Communists present during the course of these hearings, and after hearing the testimony of these witnesses, if they still are firm believers in that form of philosophy of government, I sympathize with those people.

Mr. FEIGHAN. I wish to express my appreciation for the courtesy that has been extended to this committee and I particularly want to thank the witnesses who have so fearlessly brought forth the testimony which shows conclusively the satanic, sadistic activities of the Kremlin. If there are any Communists in the room at the present time I hope that having heard that testimony they will bow their heads in shame, because any decent person would have to in order to have any conscience. I am hopeful that the news of these hearings will be spread throughout the free world so that people will have a clear conception of this hideous, tortuous, atrocious communistic activity which has been going on and unfortunately is still going on behind the Iron Curtain.

Mr. KERSTEN. I think as we conclude these hearings and in view of the remarks of my colleagues who are present here, one bit of testimony that could well be listened to by Communists on this side of the Iron Curtain and the countries that are still free, is that when the Soviets really move in, they usually liquidate the local Communists. They have to be replaced and any Communist in Western Europe or the United States or other countries of the free world—that thinks for 1 minute that he would have a chance under this diabolical system that witnesses have testified to before us here and in other cities of Europe and America just is plain foolish. This system of communism that is spread over a large part of the earth has as one of its major objectives the destruction of everything that is fine in human nature and to destroy our civilization and to create a new kind of man, a robot, a Soviet man that is nothing more than an animal to be used up in the vast power machine that the leaders of the Kremlin are trying to extend throughout the world. At this time I wish to say that Mr. O'Connor, our staff director, will be available for the reception of statements at his office commencing at 2 o'clock tomorrow, and at this time we will conclude our open hearings in Munich until further hearings elsewhere.

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST TAKEOVER AND OCCUPATION OF THE NON-RUSSIAN NATIONS OF THE U. S. S. R.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1954

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE SELECT
COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE COMMUNIST
AGGRESSION AND THE FORCED INCORPORATION
OF THE BALTIc STATES INTO THE U. S. S. R.,
New York, N. Y.

The committee met at 11:05 a. m., in room 36, United States Courthouse, Foley Square, New York, N. Y., Hon. M. A. Feighan, member of the committee, presiding.

Present: Mr. M. A. Feighan.

Also present: James J. McTigue, committee counsel.

Mr. FEIGHAN. The subcommittee will come to order.

These hearings are a continuation of the hearings being conducted by the Kersten Select Committee on Communist Aggression. I have the honor to be chairman of this subcommittee.

These particular hearings which are starting in New York today are directed at the development of the facts surrounding Communist aggression in the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union.

The Communist propaganda line in the United States has beclouded this issue and, indeed, has been very successful in putting across the idea that the U. S. S. R. is a nation, and that all the people in the Soviet Union are Russians—greater or smaller Russians.

From the evidence presented to our committee to date, it is my opinion that the success of the Communist propaganda line in the United States on this point has deluded a great many people, and, in addition, has kept from public attention the most potent vulnerabilities of the whole Red colonial empire.

The hearings which begin today will develop eyewitness testimony from people who were born in, reared in, and persecuted in the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union. We expect to hear witnesses from the Ukraine, Whiteruthenia (Byelorussia), Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaidzahn, North Caucasia, Turkestan, Cossakia, Idel-Ural, and others.

It is my hope that our committee can in a large measure offset the damage done over a period of many years by the Communist propaganda line concerning these non-Russian nations.

The people of the free world know of the tragic enslavement of the once free and independent nations of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Very few know the story of the Communist enslavement of the other non-Russian nations in the U. S. S. R.

Our first witness today will be Mr. Petro Pavlovych.

Will you stand, Mr. Pavlovych and raise your right hand? Do you solemnly swear that you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth so help you God?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you be seated, please?

Mr. Koval, you will act as interpreter when needed. Would you raise your right hand and take the oath?

Mr. Koval, do you solemnly swear that you will interpret correctly from English into Ukrainian and Ukrainian into English as required, so help you God?

Mr. KOVAL. I do.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Counsel, will you proceed?

TESTIMONY OF PETRO PAVLOVYCH, THROUGH THE INTERPRETER, IVAN KOVAL

Mr. McTIGUE. You are testifying here today under the name of Petro Pavlovych; is that correct?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. But that isn't your correct name; is it?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. That is not your correct name; is it?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. That is my pen name.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, the witness desires to testify under the pen name of Petro Pavlovych. We have his correct name in the file. He is testifying under the name of Pavlovych, because of certain fears which he has with respect to relatives who are now in the Ukraine. And may I respectfully suggest that he be permitted to proceed with his testimony under the name of Pavlovych?

Mr. FEIGHAN. That will be satisfactory.

Mr. McTIGUE. Will you proceed in English to the extent that you can proceed in English? If you have any difficulty with any words or any phrases, the interpreter will pick it up for you. Do you think you can proceed in English?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. If I understand your question, I answer right away. It is best I speak Ukrainian to keep this all straight.

Mr. McTIGUE. Will you proceed in English, please, to the extent that you can, and when you need to, speak in Ukrainian.

Where were you born, Mr. Pavlovych?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. I was born in the Ukraine, the town of Pitzchamche.

Mr. McTIGUE. When?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Near Kamyalets.

Mr. McTIGUE. When?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. In 1913.

Mr. McTIGUE. What were you doing, Mr. Pavlovych, when World War II broke out?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. I am at the time a high-school teacher.

Mr. McTIGUE. In the Ukraine?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. In the Ukraine.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you living when the war broke out?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. I was a high-school teacher in Vinnitsa.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you first learn about the Vinnitsa massacre?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. On July 21 the Soviet Army retreated to the east. The rumors were circulating to the effect that there was a massacre in Vinnitsa.

Mr. McTIGUE. Rumors were circulated?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. That is right.

Mr. McTIGUE. And were you at that time in Vinnitsa, teaching in the high school in the town of Vinnitsa?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. In 1943.

Mr. McTIGUE. 1943?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Proceed.

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. And I worked in a newspaper too at the same time, for the Ukrainian newspaper and teaching school. The people feared to say anything that there were graves in Vinnitsa.

Mr. McTIGUE. I am sorry, I wonder if you would be good enough to talk up just as loudly as you can. We haven't a public address system here, but I wonder if you would make an effort to talk as loudly as you can.

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. The people were afraid to speak anything about the graves in Vinnitsa, openly.

Mr. McTIGUE. Why?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. The front was uncertain, the war front was uncertain, and the Communists, the Bolsheviks, could have come back any minute. Gradually, people went to the mayor of the city and asked permission from the Wehrmacht, from the German authorities, to inspect the graves.

Mr. McTIGUE. You are talking about the time when the Russians were driven out of the Ukraine by the Germans, after the Germans had occupied the Ukraine; isn't that correct?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Will you proceed? I think you were at the point where the villagers had gone to the mayor.

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Administration.

Mr. McTIGUE. Asking for—

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Inspection of the graves. There were people who have seen a car, a truck, driving in a yard and carrying corpses. This was approximately 2 kilometers away from Vinnitsa. It became certain that in this place they were burying people. Approximately in April of 1943, we found interesting documents.

Mr. McTIGUE. When you say "we found," whom do you mean?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. The Ukrainian administration.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did there come a time when a commission was appointed, a Ukrainian commission, to investigate the Vinnitsa killings?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. May 24, 1943. The commission was composed of Dr. Dozoshenko, Dr. Klunk, Professor Sanostianou, Dr. Malinin, and myself. We went to these graves to find exact spots of interment of these people.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were these gentlemen you named well-known Ukrainians?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes. One, Dr. Dozoshenko, is now in Canada. I don't know about the other two. Sanostianou died in 1946 in Paris.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. McTIGUE. Will you proceed, please?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. We went to this place which was in an orchard at Pidlisna Street, No. 1. During the Bolshevik occupation this area was fenced off with barbed wire on top of the fence. Nobody knew what activity was doing there.

We are in possession of the document dated April 1, 1939, pertaining to this matter, a document pertaining to an enclave of the presidium, of the Vinnitsa City Council.

Mr. McTIGUE. What is the significance of the document?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. This document pertains to the fact that this particular area was off bounds for the people. It testifies to this fact.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where is the document?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. I have only a copy which I have taken in 1953.

Mr. McTIGUE. Have you a copy of it with you here?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. This is a reprint. I print this copy in the Ukrainian newspaper in 1943. I do not now have the newspaper. I took it off the original document.

Mr. McTIGUE. Are you reading from the document now?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes, if you want.

Mr. McTIGUE. Read what it says.

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. This is a copy of an excerpt of records No. 1 from an enclave of the presidium of the Vinnitsa City Soviet, or City Council dated April 1, 1939. This is Russian language, this document. I am translating to him in Ukraine.

Mr. McTIGUE. Are you reading the Russian now?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes. The Declaration of the National People's Commissariat of Defense. This is a disguise. They wanted to pretend that this area was taken by the army, whereas in fact it had been taken by the Soviet secret police, NKVD.

The resolution—the resolution read that forces of the People's Commissariat of Defense asked to determine the off-bounds territory in the region of the Slav Litinski Highway at Pidlisna Street. The area in size is supposed to be 27 hectares, that is, pretty close to 28 hectares, That is a pretty big territory.

In order to take possession of this area, the following people had to be ejected from their houses—Trostrofsky, Carbeski, Januar, Sobkar, Scripka, Chetwarik, and Starinetz.

Mr. McTIGUE. The significance of that particular document is that the Soviet made a restricted area out of this area in which the bodies were subsequently located, is that correct?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. Will you tell us something about the official findings of your commission, please? Who was the chairman of your commission, incidentally?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. It is very difficult. After the Ukrainian Commission, after about 2 weeks, came the German Commission from Berlin, Professor Schrader.

Mr. McTIGUE. Tell us something about the findings of the Ukrainian Commission, will you, please?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. This commission made the first display of the corpses on the 4th, 5th, and 7th of June 1943, a medical inspection, from grave No. 1. The grave contained 102 bodies.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were they bodies of men, women, and children?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. They were only men. In other graves, there were also women found.

The commission had the following five findings established: They have determined that death came as a result of an injury of the key centers of the brain. This place in the neck, behind.

Mr. McTIGUE. By a blow on the back of the head?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. No; a shot in the back—it is in the back, head down, and shooting like this—from top to below, and the bullets go in this place in the neck and stop here. The bullet stopped here [indicating forehead]. The bullets have not a steel cover. That is a small caliber, 4½ millimeters.

You see what happened to the bullets. These are the bullets here and these are the bullets before. And you see after the bullets go in the neck, they catch brain and stop here inside.

Mr. FEIGHAN. You mean when the bullets entered first in the back of the neck, they were directed up through the brain and would come out, if at all, in the forehead, but in the head they would expand and spread out; is that it?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes; they strike the skull bone and flatten out.

Mr. McTIGUE. Let me go back for a moment. What were the findings of the commission as to the reason why these people were killed or shot?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. We identified 677. Why the Russians killed these people? Because they were good farmers, good workers, good people, and good Ukrainian nationals.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you locate any of the NKVD reports after the evacuation of the NKVD?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes; I know one copy, document. We find in one grave just the one person. We found in his pocket the tribunal. If you translate in English, if you will translate, you don't know why this tribunal killed this man.

Mr. McTIGUE. Very briefly, what does it say, without reading the whole thing?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. The special tribunal army take this man Chervinsky—it is a document June 8, 1940.

Mr. McTIGUE. What was the reason, without going into that detail? What was the reason given by the NKVD?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. The reason nothing—paragraph 54. What this means is counterrevolution—spies.

Mr. McTIGUE. That was the reason given, that he was a spy?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes; but we don't find it in the foreword here specifically what he did. That is a Russian matter.

Mr. McTIGUE. How many bodies were exhumed in Vinnitsa and how many were positively identified by your commission?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. We find three places containing mass murder graves in Vinnitsa. In the first place, orchards—that is a pear orchard. And in Pidlisna Street No. 1, 39 graves, 5,644 people. I repeat again, 39 graves, 5,644. In the second place—

Mr. McTIGUE. Five thousand six hundred and forty-four bodies?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Bodies; yes. In the second place, an orthodox cemetery in the city, 42 graves, 2,405 people.

Mr. FEIGHAN. What? Bodies?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes, bodies. And in the last place, a park of culture and recreation, a new park in the city, 14 graves, 1,390 bodies.

Mr. McTIGUE. What was that figure again?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. One thousand three hundred and ninety bodies. Do you get it? So a total of 95 graves in Vinnitsa; 9,439 bodies.

Mr. McTIGUE. Was that by actual count?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Absolutely; yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. You just gave the total number of bodies, 9,439?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Nine thousand four hundred and thirty-nine.

Mr. McTIGUE. And that is by actual count?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. We counted the bodies.

Mr. McTIGUE. How many of the nine-thousand-odd were identified?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. I have said before, 676.

Mr. McTIGUE. What classes of society did they come from?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. This is a very interesting question. I read the answer. Russia pretends that it is a government of workers and peasants.

Mr. McTIGUE. I don't understand that. Let's go back for a minute. The question I asked you was, what classes of society did the people whose bodies you found come from?

Mr. FEIGHAN. Quiet, please. The people who are in the room are cordially invited to stay here, but it is requested that you refrain from conversation while in the room, so that the witness may be heard. Anybody that wishes to converse, it is requested that you step out into the hall and come back at your convenience.

You may proceed.

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. We identified the first bodies as follows. And who are these people? Peasants, 212; workers, 82; employees, 31; specialists, the doctors, engineers, 26; priests, 4; army men, soldiers and officers, 16.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you know any of these victims personally?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes, I know, and we identified my school director, a very nice school director, and a very nice teacher in my high school. We worked together 3 years.

Mr. McTIGUE. Do you remember when she was arrested?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. I don't remember the exact date. She was arrested in December 1937.

Mr. McTIGUE. For any particular reason?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. No. She was Jewish, Lydia Lisnikivska Bliumkin. She was the wife of a Ukrainian, Lisnikivska. The Russians arrested him first and after arrested her. It was a big sensation in my school. She was a good director.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were any of your newspaper colleagues or high school teacher colleagues arrested at that time?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. So many teachers, too.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Was the husband of the schoolteacher one of the leaders of the Communist Party?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. No, he was the leader of the Communist Party in the city.

Mr. McTIGUE. What happened to him, was he killed?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes, we found him dead in the grave.

Mr. McTIGUE. What did you do with the report of your commission?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. We had it continuously printed in the papers.

Mr. McTIGUE. Have you some photographs with you this morning that were official photographs taken by the commission?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. To your left on the mounting, are these the photographs that were taken by the commission of the Vinnitsa massacre to which you just testified here?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Will you start with the photograph at the left top of the mounting and identify these photographs as you go along, please. What, for example, is the photograph at the top left of the board?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. That was the commission.

Mr. McTIGUE. By the official members of the commission?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. The Ukrainian commission, and photographs from a general correspondent. I have the original copies.

Mr. McTIGUE. The first photograph that you are testifying to is a photograph on the top of the board at the left?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. This is.

Mr. McTIGUE. What is that?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. This is NKVD in Vinnitsa.

Mr. McTIGUE. That is the NKVD?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. The jail, NKVD.

Mr. McTIGUE. That is the NKVD headquarters in Vinnitsa?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes; and jail here, too.

Mr. McTIGUE. In the same place. Now, Mr. Chairman, I suggest that this photograph be marked for identification and entered as New York exhibit NR 1.

Mr. FEIGHAN. It is so acceptable.

Mr. McTIGUE. Will you proceed to identify the second photograph?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. This is city jail in Vinnitsa, about 3 kilometers from NKVD.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that that be marked for identification and entered as New York exhibit NR 2.

Mr. FEIGHAN. It is accepted.

Mr. McTIGUE. Will you identify the third one?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. This is NKVD garage inside the NKVD prison. [Referring to exhibit 1.] I don't remember whether the right or the left. But it is a garage inside in the NKVD headquarters.

Mr. McTIGUE. What was that garage used for, a particular purpose?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. The NKVD used this garage for execution.

Mr. McTIGUE. What was the form of the execution? Shooting?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Shooting with a small caliber pistol.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the photograph of the garage be marked for identification and admitted as New York exhibit NR 3.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, it will be so ordered.

Mr. McTIGUE. Will you please proceed with the photographs?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. This is a rope. First, one hand was tied and then the second hand and then both hands tied together afterward, behind the back.

Mr. McTIGUE. This photograph shows the rope which was used to tie the arms of the victims, is that correct?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. That was the rope that was picked up by the commission in the garage that you described here in exhibit NR 3?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. No; they used the same type of rope for each person.

Mr. McTIGUE. But this is the rope that was used to bind the arms of the victims, is that correct?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that this be marked for identification and admitted as New York exhibit NR 4.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McTIGUE. Will you proceed to identify the next photograph?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. You can see very well this one. It is the first grave.

Mr. McTIGUE. This is the first grave opened by the Ukrainian commission?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And this photograph shows the bodies in the first mass grave?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. What was—

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. In the orchard.

Mr. McTIGUE. Which was examined by the commission?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that this be marked for identification and entered as New York exhibit NR 5.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McTIGUE. Will you proceed with the identification of the next one?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. We took the bodies from the graves and put them on the top of the ground. We waited a couple of days so people could come and maybe identify the clothes. You see how many people from one grave or another grave.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were relatives from the surrounding area and Vinnitsa continually coming to the graves hoping to identify or seeking to identify their relatives and loved ones?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes. We have very many visitors, thousands of people from all Ukraine.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that this photograph be marked for identification and admitted as New York exhibit NR 6?

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, it is accepted and so ordered.

Mr. McTIGUE. Will you proceed with the identification of the next picture?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. This picture shows only a body.

Mr. McTIGUE. I want to go back for a moment, now. This investigation by the commission occurred in 1943; is that correct?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. When were these people killed or executed? What was the date that the commission was established?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. There were three commissions; the Ukrainian, the German, and the international commissions.

Mr. McTIGUE. There were three commissions that investigated the Vinnitsa Forest massacre—the international—

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. First, the Ukrainian commission; second, the German commission from Berlin; the third one, the international com-

mission. First, the Ukrainian commission in June 4, 7, and 12, 1943; after 1 week came the German commission with Professor Dr. Schrader; and after a while Dr. Kameron. That is the second. The international commission came after 1 month.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did all these commissions that investigated these massacres agree that the execution, the massacre, took place during the years 1938-41?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were all the commissions who investigated this massacre in agreement as to the number of people who were executed and buried?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. No; the German commission counted seven more persons, but less graves. The German commission opened 13; we opened 14. I don't know—maybe they worked too quick, taking papers and going to Berlin—they wanted to deliver an official report.

Mr. McTIGUE. The only discrepancy, then, is that the German commission only opened 13 and you opened 14?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. The German commission claimed seven more bodies than the others.

Mr. McTIGUE. Will you please proceed with the identification of the photographs that you have here today?

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. McTIGUE. Now, for the record, how large a community or city or town is Vinnitsa? How many people live there?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Before the second war, 94,000; after the second war, not quite 40,000.

Mr. McTIGUE. Was it an industrial section, a farming section?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. No; it is medium. We had industry; 1 chemistry factory, 1 metal factory, and we had a very big shoe factory, and a textile factory. It is a medium industrial center, a regional industrial center.

Mr. McTIGUE. And the exact places you exhumed the bodies were how far from the center of the city?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. In the first place, the orchards, about 2 miles from the center. The cemetery and park is close to the city. The cemetery is a little bit outside of the city, and after the cemetery, lots of houses, and a park in the center.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where was the recreation park where you exhumed a great many of the bodies? Where was it located? Was that on the outskirts of the city or was it right within the confines of the city?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. This was a Polish cemetery.

Mr. McTIGUE. A Polish cemetery?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. A Polish cemetery. We have lots of people of the Polish nationality.

Mr. McTIGUE. Going back for the moment, what was the nationality of the people who were massacred at Vinnitsa? Just state a general breakdown.

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Ukrainian people.

Mr. McTIGUE. From the Vinnitsa area?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Vinnitsa town and Vinnitsa Province.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you testify previously that there were some Bessarabians in this grave?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes; one of the bodies identified was that of a man from Bessarabia.

Mr. McTIGUE. So some people were not residents of Vinnitsa, but were brought from other places?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. No; in the region, in Vinnitsa, not so many.

Mr. McTIGUE. But there were some?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Some.

Mr. McTIGUE. You had some Poles and you had some Byelorussians, did you, who were not residents of Vinnitsa, but who for some reason or other were incarcerated there, who were among the victims?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Will you proceed, please with the identification of the photographs?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. This body on the photograph shows the state of decay of this body, decomposition of the body.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that that be marked for identification and submitted as New York exhibit NR 7.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McTIGUE. Whose body was it?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Professor Malinin.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you positively identify the professor's body?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. No, no; it is a doctor. He show the place the bullets go in the neck.

Mr. McTIGUE. Let the record show that the witness is pointing to the photograph, to the neck of the victim in the photograph, and has testified that the bullet entered the neck of the victim. And which you say was the general rule of execution?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes; and very interesting, pistol a very short distance from neck, not long distance.

Mr. McTIGUE. Powder marks?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes; there were marks on each body. We found them in the canal, the bullet's canal, these same marks. Therefore we know it is a short distance.

Mr. FEIGHAN. By a short distance—

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. A short distance like this.

Mr. FEIGHAN. An inch or two?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes. The same place, the same motion, only they were on the knees, head down, and shoot them like that.

Mr. McTIGUE. I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that that photograph be marked for identification, and entered as New York exhibit NR 8.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McTIGUE. Will you proceed, Mr. Witness, with the identification of the next photograph?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. This is scalp of a person and three holes here, from being shot in the head. We did not find many like this. I do not remember any more, just the one picture, you see here.

Mr. McTIGUE. Wait a minute, before we move on.

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. This is three holes, one in the neck and one in the head.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that that be marked for identification and entered as New York exhibit NR 9.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McTIGUE. All right, Mr. Witness, will you proceed with the identification of the next photograph?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. This is the bullets, the shells. This is bullets, all together. This picture was taken from a German book. This is a copy.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were those the cartridges that were extricated from the skulls of the victims?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. What do they show? What is the purpose of this photograph?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. To show what caliber pistol they had used in killing the people and the kind and the size of the bullets.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you have or were you able to make any connection between these cartridges and the particular type of Soviet gun that might have been used?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Absolutely; yes. It is the Russian system, it is the Russian small-caliber pistol and gun, TOZ. There is a special factory that produces this gun.

Mr. McTIGUE. Of this Russian gun?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes, absolutely Russian. Guns we have in the West are a little bit shorter, different absolutely.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you are able, or the Commission was able to positively identify that these shells were from the Russian gun, the make of which you have just described here?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that this photograph be marked for identification as New York exhibit NR 10.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McTIGUE. Will you proceed, Mr. Witness, with the identification of the next photograph?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. This is my old picture. You see the paper is not so good. This place is the cemetery where we found the graves.

Mr. McTIGUE. How many did you find in the cemetery?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Forty-two.

Mr. McTIGUE. Forty-two bodies?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Forty-two graves. That is all this is, this is a wild place.

Mr. McTIGUE. How many people did you find in the mass graves in that orthodox cemetery; do you recall?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. 2,405.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is that orthodox cemetery on the outskirts of Vinnitsa?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. No. Now it is inside of the city of Vinnitsa.

Mr. McTIGUE. That is toward the outskirts of Vinnitsa; is that it?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Not too much.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that this photograph be marked for identification and entered as New York exhibit NR 11.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McTIGUE. Will you proceed, Mr. Witness, with the identification of the next photograph, please?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. This picture shows a broken-in part of a skull which indicates that the prisoners were not only killed and shot, but they they were also beaten, that before being shot they were hit on the head with rifle butts, and they fractured the skull.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did your examination reveal that?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Absolutely. That is my picture; I took it.

Mr. McTIGUE. You took this picture yourself?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Myself.

Mr. McTIGUE. Was that the rule or the exception to the rule?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. No; we find people in this case, too. But we did not find so many.

Mr. McTIGUE. In other words, did your Commission's investigation show that most of these victims were beaten before they were killed? Was the Commission able to make any determination in that respect?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were there a great many women among these victims in Vinnitsa?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. 169.

Mr. McTIGUE. Any children?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. No children. We identified 20 of these women.

Mr. McTIGUE. You actually identified 20?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Twenty were identified out of 169 women.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that this photograph be marked for identification and entered in the record as New York exhibit NR 12.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McTIGUE. You have one more photograph in your possession, Mr. Witness, that you wish to identify?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. These are just the plans of the graves.

Mr. McTIGUE. What is the one you are pointing to now? The diagram of what?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. The first one, this is a fence, and inside in the orchards, between the trees, you find one line, very long, and the second line, and another line, this system you see here, 1, 2, 3.

Mr. McTIGUE. The chart which you have just identified, then, shows the mass graves or the outline of the mass graves in the orchard outside Vinnitsa; is that right?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes; in the orchard; yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that that be marked for identification and admitted as New York exhibit NR 13.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McTIGUE. The second chart that you pointed to, Mr. Witness, is the outline of the mass graves in the orthodox cemetery on the outskirts of Vinnitsa; is that correct?

Mr. FEIGHAN. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that that be marked for identification and entered as New York exhibit NR 14.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McTIGUE. The third chart which you pointed to, Mr. Witness, is an outline or a diagram of the amusement park where a great many of the mass graves were uncovered; is that correct?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes, 14 mass graves.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that this be marked for identification and admitted as New York exhibit NR 15?

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McTIGUE. Before we go any further, will you let me take a look at the other photographs?

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, the witness has a series of photographs which he has brought to the subcommittee today of mass graves taken by the Ukrainian Commission.

Will you proceed, Mr. Witness, with the identification of the next photograph?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. This picture shows me in company with a family group that came a long way to try and find a relative.

Mr. McTIGUE. Does this photograph which you are identifying now, Mr. Witness, show you and a group of others standing before a number of corpses which were unearthed from certain mass graves in Vinnitsa?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were the bodies with which you are shown unearthed?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. In the orchards. Lots of graves were opened and the bodies were put on the ground and the people came to look at them.

Mr. McTIGUE. And these were the people who were there seeking to identify—

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Oh, yes, there were thousands of people who came to look.

Mr. McTIGUE. And will you identify yourself in that, point to your picture in that photograph?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. (The witness indicated himself in the picture.) That was 11 years ago.

Mr. FEIGHAN. You are the third man beginning on the right, going to the left—you are the third one?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. You are the third from the right, is that correct?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And that was taken 11 years ago on what date?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes. I was very skinny then.

Mr. McTIGUE. What was the date?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. I don't remember absolutely now.

Mr. McTIGUE. What year?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. It is about July.

Mr. McTIGUE. 1943?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that this photograph be marked for identification and entered as part of the committee's report as New York exhibit NR 16.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McTIGUE. I will ask you, Mr. Witness, to identify the document which you have in your hand. Will you please proceed with the identification? I want you to identify the document of arrest of your father-in-law.

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. This is the document of the U. S. S. R., People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, NKVD. A protocol or record of arrest, 1937, December 22. The senior inspector of the Vinnitsa region in accordance with an order No. 62. The arrested man was Pan-telemon Aleksevich. The initial of the last name is "S." The wife is afraid the Russians will pick up her son who is still in the Ukraine. She don't want the name known publicly. That is why I cover the last name with black paper.

Mr. McTIGUE. This document which we accept as exhibit NR 17, you have just identified as the warrant of arrest issued by the NKVD for your father-in-law—this warrant was issued in the Ukraine in 1937 as a consequence of which he was jailed; is that correct?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Besides, this is a copy of a receipt which his wife received indicating what had been taken away from him by the police.

Mr. McTIGUE. What happened to your father-in-law? Did you ever find out?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes, we found his winter boots, padded boots, wool boots. His mother-in-law found his clothes, winter boots with her monogram, his name, the first letters.

Mr. McTIGUE. At Vinnitsa?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes, in the park.

Mr. McTIGUE. Your mother-in-law identified the body of your father-in-law because of the monogram which was on his boots?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes, boots and handkerchief.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Counsel, I just want to get the record clear. That protocol or order was not a warrant of arrest. Your father-in-law was picked up and arrested, and it was after his arrest or detention that that order was released?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. At the same time he was arrested he was given this copy, and taken to jail.

Mr. FEIGHAN. But they arrested him first and then gave it to him?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. No. At 2 o'clock or 3 o'clock during the night the police came to my wife's home. They arrested her father, at the same time they wrote this paper and confiscated military book, passport, and other things.

Mr. FEIGHAN. They filled out the document after they went to his home?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes, and then took the prisoner with them. After half a year my mother-in-law who was his wife, received a letter from Moscow, that he was in jail. This notice said her husband was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment without the right to communicate during that time with anyone. In reality he was shot because he was identified from the mass graves in Vinnitsa.

Mr. FEIGHAN. This was dated September 25, 1940?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes, September 25, 1940.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Witness, I hand you a series of photographs, Mr. Witness, numbering eight in number, and ask if you will identify these photographs, please, generally.

I don't want to go through the identification of each one, but will you tell me, Mr. Witness, where you secured these photographs and what these photographs generally show?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. These pictures show the exhumed bodies and people coming to identify them.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where did you procure these photographs?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. From Mr. Janushevych.

Mr. McTIGUE. And who was Mr. Janushevych?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. A Ukrainian, a photo correspondent.

Mr. McTIGUE. He took these pictures at Vinnitsa; is that correct?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that this series of photographs be marked for identification and admitted as a committee exhibit and marked consecutively as they appear A, B, C, D.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(The photographs referred to were marked "New York Exhibits NR 18A to 18H, inclusive.")

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Pavlovych, among the corpses that were found, were there many Russian people who were massacred in the Vinnitsa massacre?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. No. We found a couple here and there. It is mostly the Ukrainian people and other non-Russians.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Were there many Jews whose corpses were dug up from these mass graves?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. We identified three.

Mr. FEIGHAN. The park in which the graves were found, that is, one group of graves, was that park known as the Coney Island of Vinnitsa?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Oh, yes; these mass graves were made into a playground, including a place for dancing, a theater, a special room with mirrors, you know, like the funny picture in the comic. Thousands and thousands of children came to play there.

Mr. FEIGHAN. These Russians killed and buried these people and then constructed the Coney Island over the mass graves?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. In the classes in which you were teaching, were there required courses to study Marxism?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Oh, yes. My profession is different. I am a geography teacher, physical geography teacher, and geology. Sure, the Russian system must be taught Marxism and all.

Mr. FEIGHAN. That rope that you identified in exhibit NR 4 was a rope taken from the wrists of one of the persons who was shot and buried, and that is a similar rope to those used by the Communists in killing the other persons whom they massacred and buried?

Mr. PAVLOVYCH. Yes; absolutely, yes. And a few people, they have rope on them this way, also, both—take the hands, this way, and the arm.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Pavlovych. You have made a very distinct contribution to our hearing, since you were in a position to witness very keenly the exhumation of the bodies from these mass graves and to give us an eyewitness account of what happened after these graves were opened up and brought forth this shocking evidence of the brutality and terror exercised by the Russian Communists in their terroristic control of Ukraine.

Thank you very much, Mr. Pavlovych.

The committee will now stand adjourned until 2:15.

(Thereupon, at 1:05 p. m., an adjournment was taken until 2:15 p. m.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. FEIGHAN. The subcommittee will come to order.

I have just received a telegram from a member of this subcommittee, Congressman Edward J. Bonin, which reads as follows:

Due to a television and radio broadcast and a Pulaski Day banquet at which I am the speaker, I am unable to be with you.

Please express my regrets to the Ukrainian people for my inability to be with you. Let them know that I shall constantly fight against Russian oppression of the Ukrainian people and for their eventual freedom and independence. Will try to be with you Wednesday. Kindest regards.

Congressman EDWARD J. BONIN.

It is our hope that Mr. Bonin will be with us on Wednesday.

Mr. Counsel, will you call the first witness?

Mr. McTIGUE. The first witness, Mr. Chairman, is Mr. Joseph Schwarz.

**TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH SCHWARZ, THROUGH THE INTERPRETER,
ELEANORA KULCHYCKY**

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you understand the oath?

Mr. SCHWARZ. I understand some. I speak Ukrainian. I don't speak English very well.

Mr. FEIGHAN. The interpreter will translate the oath.

Will you sit down, Mr. Schwarz?

Will you state your name, Miss Translator?

Miss KULCHYCKY. Eleanora Kulchycky.

Mr. FEIGHAN. You will translate when necessary for Mr. Schwarz?

Miss KULCHYCKY. Yes, I will.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Please hold up your right hand. Will you swear that you will translate accurately from English to Ukrainian and from Ukrainian to English, so help you God?

Miss KULCHYCKY. I do.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Be seated, please.

Will you repeat this oath to Mr. Schwarz?

Do you solemnly swear that you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SCHWARZ. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Please be seated.

Mr. McTIGUE. Your name is Joseph Schwarz, spelled S-c-h-w-a-r-z, and you live in New York City?

Mr. SCHWARZ. Brooklyn.

Mr. McTIGUE. What is your address?

Mr. SCHWARZ. 429 Howard Avenue, Brooklyn.

Mr. McTIGUE. What capacity are you now employed in?

Mr. SCHWARZ. I am unemployed at the present. I had an accident.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you born?

Mr. SCHWARZ. I was born in Yezupol, Ukrainian Ethnographic Territory. I am Jewish by faith.

Mr. McTIGUE. When were you born?

Mr. SCHWARZ. That is 1898, 4th of September 1898.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you living in Poland at the outbreak of World War II?

Mr. SCHWARZ. Yes; I lived there when the war began.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where?

Mr. SCHWARZ. In the city of Dori. I beg your pardon, it is the town of Dori.

Mr. McTIGUE. What happened to you when World War II broke out?

Mr. SCHWARZ. When the Soviets came to our director in the lumber camp in the forest near Yaremchi—

Mr. McTIGUE. This is in the eastern part of Poland, is that correct?

Mr. SCHWARZ. That is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. And this was in the year of 1939?

Mr. SCHWARZ. That is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did there come a time in 1939 when you along with others were mobilized and taken into the U. S. S. R.?

Mr. SCHWARZ. When the Soviets occupied the country all laborers were immediately mobilized in the place where they were working. When the war broke out in 1941 I was mobilized and taken to the Ural Mountains by the Soviets.

Mr. McTIGUE. After you were taken to the Urals along with the others, what happened to you there?

Mr. SCHWARZ. I was working there in the same profession in connection with forestry. I was no longer a director, as I had been in Ukraine, only an ordinary laborer.

Mr. McTIGUE. How many men approximately were mobilized and taken into the U. S. S. R. with you, have you any idea?

Mr. SCHWARZ. I can't give you the number of people that were mobilized. I just know that all who were working, who were holding a position at the time, were compelled to be mobilized and moved to the Soviets.

Mr. McTIGUE. You testified here a few minutes ago that you are of the Jewish faith. Were there any Jews deported at the time you were deported?

Mr. SCHWARZ. I cannot say exactly how many, but all the Jews that were working with me in the camp in their teens, 17 and 18, were taken, were mobilized.

Mr. McTIGUE. How long were you detained in this labor camp near the Urals?

Mr. SCHWARZ. I worked there, being moved around from various towns, until 1943, and at that time they again remobilized us and took us to Moscow to work in the military factory.

Mr. McTIGUE. What kind of work did you do in this factory in Moscow in 1943?

Mr. SCHWARZ. I was a dispatcher in the factory where they were making piers for bridges.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were there other people such as Poles and Byelorussians and people from the Western Ukraine in this factory working as forced laborers?

Mr. SCHWARZ. There were about 10 Jews there with me from Poland and Western Ukraine, about 100 Ukrainians, and 97 percent of the remainder of those working in the factory were from the western territories of the Soviet Union.

Mr. McTIGUE. How were you and these other people treated at this time?

Mr. SCHWARZ. There was an overseer, a sergeant, by the name of Vanyushyn, who treated the Jews very badly, constantly calling us names and who treated also the Ukrainians rather badly, calling them Banderichi.

Mr. McTIGUE. What does that mean?

Mr. SCHWARZ. This was a name given to Ukrainians, the Ukrainian nationalists. This is the name of their underground leader whose name was Bandera, and all Ukrainian nationalists, patriots, were called by the Russians Banderichi.

Mr. McTIGUE. While you were in this factory and working under these conditions, did you try to do something about it?

Mr. SCHWARZ. I managed to have an interview with Ilya Ehrenberg concerning the conditions in the factory. I told him about the

conditions in the factory and he agreed that this was open anti-Semitism. He gave me a letter to Letis, who was the head of the military committee of the Soviet Writers, who was to give me permission to go to the front.

Mr. McTIGUE. What kind of a letter was it?

Mr. SCHWARZ. A letter of recommendation from Ehrenberg to Letis.

Mr. McTIGUE. What did the letter say?

Mr. SCHWARZ. I wanted to go to the front in order to be closer to my home, and the letter recommended that Letis send me into the army, get me into the army so that I may go to the front.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did he make any effort to help any of the other Jews who were in the same situation you were in?

Mr. SCHWARZ. He helped no one. He didn't even help me because 2 weeks later I was arrested, 2 weeks later I was released from my position in the factory and several weeks after that I was arrested.

Mr. McTIGUE. Why were you arrested?

Mr. SCHWARZ. I was arrested ostensibly because I had praised the life of the workers in Poland capitalist country and I had slandered the government of the workers and the peasants, meaning the Soviet Government.

Mr. McTIGUE. What happened to you while you were in prison? Tell us briefly of some of your experiences. Is this prison, incidentally, in Moscow?

Mr. SCHWARZ. Moscow. Seven months—

Mr. McTIGUE. What was the name of the prison?

Mr. SCHWARZ. Buterki. They put me in a cell. There were 18 people in the cell—cell No. 26. There were 18 people there, 10 Ukrainians, 2 Jews, and the rest of them Russians. They took me for interrogation. Lt. Lepotnov Smersh, of an MVD unit known as "Death to the Spies," was conducting the interrogation. They accused me of being connected with the Ukrainian nationalists.

I did not admit to having any connection with the Ukrainian nationalists. I told them I was of the Jewish faith and had no connection with Ukrainian nationalists.

As a result of the interrogation they put me into a cold cell without clothes where the temperature was near freezing, very cold, not freezing, but very cold. After that they put me in the dungeons and we received 300 grams of bread a day and some water, nothing more. During the interrogations I wanted to confess to being a Jewish nationalist. He said, "Jews and gypsies are not a nation and, therefore, you cannot be a Jewish nationalist." Then I wanted to confess to a connection with the League of Ukrainian Writers, Maxim Rilsky. He told me that would do me no good because in 1936 Maxim Rilsky himself was in the position I was in.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were there many Jews in this prison in Moscow in the same situation you were in?

Mr. SCHWARZ. Ordinarily one couldn't know how many Jews were in the prison as a whole or at any given time because we saw only our cellmates. We were not permitted any communication with other prisoners. However, after the sentence was passed, I was taken into a cell which contained 190 people. This was cell No. 11. There were about 5 or 6 Jews there.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now, getting back to the sentence, were you ever tried?

Mr. SCHWARZ. After 3 or 4 months they took me before a military tribunal, there were 3 members on it, 2 majors and a colonel and a secretary, a sergeant. The trial lasted 5 minutes because I had signed a confession before that. After 2 minutes they returned from their session and sentenced me to 8 years in a corrective labor camp of the Soviet Union.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you sign this confession under duress?

Mr. SCHWARZ. Yes; I did sign under pressure. I couldn't stand it any more. When I came into the prison I weighed 70 kilograms and when I left I was 52 kilos. And a cellmate of mine by the name of Orsipo informed me that whether I confessed or not they would sentence me as guilty. It would be better for me to sign and get relief from their continuous torture.

Mr. McTIGUE. What did you confess to?

Mr. SCHWARZ. I confessed that I had said it was far better to live in a capitalist country and that I had criticized the Communist Party.

Mr. McTIGUE. After your sentence where were you taken to serve the term to which you were sentenced?

Mr. SCHWARZ. They put us into freight cars, 40 people in a car, and we traveled for 3 weeks in this way to Marynsk, district of Kemerovshaya in Siberia. That was the administration center of the Siberian camps.

Mr. McTIGUE. What year was this?

Mr. SCHWARZ. In 1944 they arrested us and in 1945 we were sent to Siberia.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now, what happened to you in Siberia, in this concentration camp that you were sent to?

Mr. SCHWARZ. They divided us into brigades and, into work brigades, and then into categories. I was in the third category and wasn't sent to the heavier work, but remained in the shops and worked as a turner, producing wheels, cartwheels.

Mr. McTIGUE. How long were you confined in this concentration camp in Siberia?

Mr. SCHWARZ. I was in various stations in Siberian camps for 3 years, for approximately 3 years.

Mr. McTIGUE. Do you recall briefly any of your experiences in this camp which might be of interest to the committee?

Mr. SCHWARZ. In the first camp station I became ill and was hospitalized. The chief of the camp station Bizhayer, Captain Bizhayer, came to visit, came to inspect the hospital. He asked every one what his name was. I said, "Schwarz." He said, "Are you a German?" The doctor answered for me saying, "He is a Hebrew, not a German." He answered, Chief Bizhayer answered, "That is understandable. Why don't we send him to Birabaidjan to sell needles?"

In the second camp station I worked without a guard. We were carrying water for the cattle and for the livestock there. The chief there was Ulyanchikov. My job was to bring water for the pigs. The norm was to carry 20 barrels a day. Each barrel contained 50 liters. One day I was not able to fulfill the norm, carrying only 19 barrels because I had been stricken with snow blindness. They called me out in the night. They brought me before the chief who cursed me, cursed at me saying I must immediately go and carry the 20 barrels to fulfill my norm. I explained to him I couldn't possibly because I couldn't see anything and for that they gave me 5 days in soli-

tary confinement. We received there only 300 grams of bread a day and water.

Every week they searched the prisoners and took away from them all their personal articles. This one particular week when the search was made they found a Jewish prayer book in my possession. They took this away from me and gave it to the chief of the third division. His name was Pervenkov. I went to him and asked him to return my prayer book because the Russians were permitted to have their prayer books there and I wanted to know why he had taken mine away. He told me that this was not a Seder, but a camp; we were not supposed to pray, but work.

The colonel from the political division of the camp came and asked if we had any complaints, if the food was good, if we had anything to say. I stepped out and told him about my prayer book. He told the secretary to write this down and the matter would be taken care of.

They not only did not return my prayer book, but they sent me, after a few weeks, under guard to another camp, the fourth camp station, where the chief was Skrypchenko.

I worked there for several months and was stricken with malaria, and Dr. Oleychick, a Byelorussian and also a prisoner, was treating me. Oleychick was treating me and took a liking to me. After I was cured I was put into the fourth category, which meant people who could do no work, only very light work, and I remained in the hospital working, helping the doctors.

Mr. McTIGUE. When were you released from this camp, and under what circumstances?

Mr. SCHWARZ. In 1945 they had brought many Poles from the Polish National Army, and some Ukrainians, who were in the army, cherkassy. It seems that Communist Poland had made some sort of an agreement with the Soviet Union. In 1948 they took all the Poles from the camps in the month of May, a number totaling 700 into this Marynsk dispatching point and also 22 Jews along with them who had been former citizens of Poland.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you were included in this group?

Mr. SCHWARZ. Yes. They told us they would take us into another camp and put us in the same kind of cars in which we had arrived at the camps. In 3 weeks we came to Brest-Litovsk.

Two guards came and searched us to make sure we had taken nothing with us, no papers or anything like that, and the Poles then came with their guards and took us over the border and said we were free. They told us we were free. They gave us documents, had us photographed, told us to look for our families. After 2 months I left for Prague, and the Jewish organization, Sachnut, took us from Prague to Salzburg. I was in Salzburg a year and my cousin sent me an affidavit, and in 1949 I came to this country.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were admitted under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948; is that correct?

Mr. SCHWARZ. Yes; I was.

Mr. McTIGUE. I have no further questions.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Schwarz, you prepared a written statement, did you not?

Mr. SCHWARZ. Yes; I did.

Mr. FEIGHAN. And that was translated into English?

Mr. SCHWARZ. Yes; it was.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Your original statement was written in Ukrainian?

Mr. SCHWARZ. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you have it there?

Mr. SCHWARZ. I have it in Ukrainian.

Mr. FEIGHAN. By whom was this original, which you have in your hand, your statement, by whom was that translated into English?

Miss KULCHYCKY. I translated it.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Counsel, will you present the copy and compare it with the original?

Mr. McTIGUE. I hand you a statement, Mr. Witness, in Ukrainian, which tells in some detail the story that you have just told the committee on examination. Is this the statement that you executed concerning your experiences in the Soviet Union?

Mr. SCHWARZ. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Was this statement translated into English?

Mr. SCHWARZ. Yes; it was.

Mr. McTIGUE. By whom?

Mr. SCHWARZ. I handed it to the Ukrainian Congress Committee and they in turn had this translator translate it.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you translate this statement from Ukrainian into English?

Miss KULCHYCKY. Yes; I did.

Mr. McTIGUE. I ask you if this is a true and correct translation of the statement which I will submit into evidence in a moment?

Mr. Chairman, may I suggest that the statement of this witness in Ukrainian be marked for identification as "Exhibit No. NR 19, New York exhibits," and made a part of the record.

Miss KULCHYCKY. Yes; it is a correct translation.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now, Miss Interpreter, is this a correct translation from Ukrainian into English?

Miss KULCHYCKY. Yes; it is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. The statement marked "Exhibit NR 19" which has just been made part of the record?

Miss KULCHYCKY. Yes; it is a correct translation.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, may I suggest that the translation of the Ukrainian into English of exhibit 19, which the interpreter has just identified and sworn to as being translated by her, be marked for identification and entered as exhibit NR 19-A.

Mr. FEIGHAN. This was a true and correct copy?

Miss KULCHYCKY. Yes; it was.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, it will be incorporated into the record.

Mr. Schwarz, the actual result of your appeal against anti-Semitism to the Russians, when you appealed to Ilya Ehrenberg, was getting arrested several weeks later, which was the same result when you complained about the taking away of your prayer book?

Mr. SCHWARZ. That is true. In the first case I was arrested, and in the second place I was placed under guard.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Did you ever get back your prayer book?

Mr. SCHWARZ. No.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Birabaidjan, where Captain Bizhayer, chief of the camp station, said you should be selling needles, that is the so-called

autonomous Jewish state that the Russian Communists were setting up as a homeland for the Jews; is that correct?

Mr. SCHWARZ. Yes. I have never been there myself, and I do not know what the conditions are, but it is true that that is supposedly the Jewish autonomous republic.

Mr. FEIGHAN. From your observations, what did the Communists think of Zionists?

Mr. SCHWARZ. In the war years the Communists were forced through necessity to be lenient toward nationalism such as Ukrainian nationalism. They permitted nationalistic movements and so forth, and they were also lenient toward Zionists. In Moscow there was a publication even printed by an anti-Fascist Zionist committee known as the *Einzkeit*.

I would like to tell you about an incident I witnessed in a camp which will demonstrate Soviet attitude toward Zionists. Of the nationalities in the prison camps, taking the entire group, 60 percent of them were political prisoners, 40 percent of them were ordinary criminals, approximately. These numbers are approximate. Whereas other nationalities, such as Ukrainians and Jews, 90 percent, and later the Poles, 90 percent of the Jewish or Ukrainian figure in the camp will be political and 10 percent would be ordinary criminals.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Schwarz, the new Soviet encyclopedia which was issued this spring defines Zionism as "the cult of the personality and therefore the enemy of the state."

I want the record to show that the common basis of Judo-Christian faith is based on recognition of and belief in the worth and dignity of the individual. That is why communism seeks to stamp out all religion because communism cannot work as a system or way of life unless the individual human being is reduced to the status of an animal.

Do you not agree?

Mr. SCHWARZ. I do agree with you, Congressman Feighan, and I should like to add that Russian supernaturalism has grown to such a point they have overtaken even Russian orthodoxy and are using it as one of their tools, proclaiming themselves the father of all Slavs. They are using this as an aggressive tool to conquer all other Slavic nations.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Schwarz, on behalf of the committee, I wish to express appreciation for the contributions you have made, particularly for your frankness in answering the questions that have been asked of you by the subcommittee. Again we thank you very much, Mr. Schwarz.

Mr. SCHWARZ. I should like to express my thanks for being able to appear before the honored committee and share with them my experiences and I am happy to be here in this country.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you again, Mr. Schwarz.

TESTIMONY OF IVAN PUSHKAR, THROUGH THE INTERPRETER, ROMAN OLESNICKI

Mr. McTIGUE. The next witness is Mr. Ivan Pushkar.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Interpreter, will you stand and be sworn, please? What is your name, please?

Mr. OLESNICKI. Roman Olesnicki.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Olesnicki, will you please raise your right hand? Do you solemnly swear to translate from Ukrainian into English and from English into Ukrainian accurately and to the best of your ability, so help you God?

Mr. OLESNICKI. I do.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you raise your right hand, please, Mr. Pushkar? Do you solemnly swear to tell the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. PUSHKAR. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Your name is Ivan Pushkar, spelled I-v-a-n P-u-s-h-k-a-r, and your residence is in Passaic, N. J.; is that correct?

Mr. PUSHKAR. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. What capacity are you employed in in Passaic?

Mr. PUSHKAR. I am employed by the Pennsylvania Railroad at the Pennsylvania depot, Newark, N. J.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where do you reside in Passaic?

Mr. PUSHKAR. 15 Jackson Street, Passaic, N. J.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you born and when?

Mr. PUSHKAR. June 28, 1892, in the Ukraine, Zhitomir.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you leave the Ukraine?

Mr. PUSHKAR. 1943.

Mr. McTIGUE. When the Communists first took over the Ukraine in 1921, what happened to the churches there?

Mr. PUSHKAR. They were closed down.

Mr. McTIGUE. What happened after the churches were closed down?

Mr. PUSHKAR. Whenever an organization of 50 people appeared and signed a petition that they wanted to conduct a parish, such a church would be set free to conduct a parish under the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

Mr. McTIGUE. You mean when 50 people petitioned—

Mr. PUSHKAR. If 50 people petitioned and signed the petition, then they would be granted a church.

Mr. McTIGUE. When 50 people signed the petition, were they actually granted a parish or church?

Mr. PUSHKAR. Then they were given physical possession of a church building.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did anything in particular happen to the people who signed the petition?

Mr. PUSHKAR. Such churches were in existence until 1923.

Mr. McTIGUE. What happened in 1923?

Mr. PUSHKAR. In 1923 they were closed down, and the 50 people whose names appeared on the petitions were arrested and put in prison.

Mr. McTIGUE. During this period what did the Communists and the Komsomol, which is the Communist Youth Organization, do to the people of Ukraine?

Mr. PUSHKAR. After these churches were taken away in 1923 most of the buildings were wrecked and demolished. The Communist organizations, and in particular the Komsomol organizations, were very busy trying to really eradicate the religious spirit from the Ukrainian people by conducting antireligious talks, lectures, and the like.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did they have any success in that respect?

Mr. PUSHKAR. They were successful because they had the power by sheer force.

Mr. McTIGUE. Those who resisted them were deported or executed or arrested; is that right?

Mr. PUSHKAR. In addition to the 50 petitioners I mentioned before, also other people who worked and were concentrated around the churches and resisted the Komsomols, they were also subject to arrest.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did there come a time, Mr. Pushkar, when you were arrested by the NKVD? If so, when and why?

Mr. PUSHKAR. On two occasions.

Mr. McTIGUE. When and why?

Mr. PUSHKAR. In 1931 I was arrested and charged with being a Petlurist.

Mr. McTIGUE. What is that?

Mr. PUSHKAR. That is a nationalist, and politically opposed to the Russian Communists.

Mr. McTIGUE. This is in 1931?

Mr. PUSHKAR. 1931.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you tried on that charge and sentenced by a court?

Mr. PUSHKAR. After my arrest I was sentenced to 2 years' labor. I was tried by a committee of 3 men, a special committee of 3 men of the NKVD.

Mr. McTIGUE. After you were sentenced, did you serve the term, where did you serve the term?

Mr. PUSHKAR. Khabarovsk, Siberia. I was employed in the construction of a railroad in the neighborhood of Khabarovsk.

Mr. McTIGUE. You just testified that you were assigned to work on a railroad.

Mr. PUSHKAR. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. What was the name of this railroad?

Mr. PUSHKAR. The Baikal-Amur Railroad.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were there a great many people doing the same kind of work who had been deported like you?

Mr. PUSHKAR. The camp in which I was kept consisted of about 1,200 people. The camps were laid out all along the railroad line for a distance of about 10,000 kilometers from the Baikal Sea to Vladivostok.

Mr. McTIGUE. This railroad was being built to provide additional rail connections between Moscow and the East; is that correct?

Mr. PUSHKAR. Yes; it was a parallel line built in addition to the existing line, which connected Moscow with the Far East. It was a second line. One had already been in existence at that time.

Mr. McTIGUE. Was this being built by forced labor?

Mr. PUSHKAR. Only and exclusively by forced labor. Nobody was paid any wages whatsoever for this work.

Mr. McTIGUE. And most of the people, probably all of the people were people who had been sentenced for some reason or another as in your case?

Mr. PUSHKAR. Most of them were for similar political offenses as mine. Most of the inmates of these camps whom I saw there were of other than Russian nationality.

Mr. McTIGUE. What were some of the nationalities?

Mr. PUSHKAR. Ukrainians, Byelorussians, and Caucasians.

Mr. McTIGUE. Have you any idea how many were working on this railroad or how many in your immediate area?

Mr. PUSHKAR. Perhaps millions.

Mr. McTIGUE. Let's go back a moment on that. I thought maybe you had an estimate because you lived in the camp and you worked with this group on the railroad.

Mr. PUSHKAR. No, not of estimating the numbers of people. No thought of estimating the numbers of people ever entered my or other prisoners' heads because all we thought of was to get a little rest from the hard labor to which we were forced. We were hungry and had bloody calluses on our hands.

Mr. McTIGUE. This camp where you just testified that you were confined, were there men and women there?

Mr. PUSHKAR. Yes. At the beginning in my particular camp there only men, and later there was one carload of girls brought to our camp, about 40 of them, and they worked alongside of the men.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did anything in particular happen to the women while they were there?

Mr. PUSHKAR. We were quartered in railroad cars, and one of these railroad cars was a prison car. When these girls were first brought into camp, at first they were given easier jobs to do like keeping house for the head of the camp or for the NKVD men.

Among them was one girl whose name was Fenia. She was a very beautiful girl, and she was assigned to work for the head of the prison camp, and 2 days later we saw her crying and running toward the car in which the other girls were quartered. About 15 minutes later a detachment of guards came and picked her up and took her back to the camp chief.

Then she apparently escaped again and came to the same railroad car. Then the guards arrested her and put her in the prison car. It was an unheated car and in the wintertime the temperature in it was about 60° below. She started to cry in a very loud voice, and then she started cursing the Russians.

Five NKVD men appeared and entered that car, and the girl continued crying and shouting. The 5 NKVD men left and a new group of 5 men came into that car, and then we heard no more voices from that car, and the next morning a brigadier came, that is a boss in charge of 50 men, and he took me and 2 more men with him and we dug a hole in the snow near the car and took out the dead body of that girl from the car and buried her in the place which we had dug. Her body is probably still there.

Mr. McTIGUE. The point you are making, Mr. Witness, as far as the NKVD officers are concerned is that they raped this woman; is that so?

Mr. PUSHKAR. I think so.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did there come a time when you were released from this slave labor camp?

Mr. PUSHKAR. In the fall of 1933 I was released from this camp.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where did you go after your release?

Mr. PUSHKAR. To the Donbas town of Lozova. Donbas is the coal-mining center of the Ukraine.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now, while you were living in Lozova, did there come a time when you saw any foreign diplomats make a tour of any kind?

Mr. PUSHKAR. Yes, I did.

Mr. McTIGUE. Will you tell us something about it, please?

Mr. PUSHKAR. This was approximately in 1935, in the summer of 1935. One evening the chief of the local NKVD paid me a visit. I was very much afraid that I was going to be arrested again. But he said to me that "Tomorrow morning you have to appear well dressed, well shaved, and come to the railroad station," and then he produced a pass which entitled me to go there. I asked, "What do you mean? Can't I go to the railroad station without a special pass?" "That is right. Tomorrow after 10:15 a. m. nobody will be permitted to enter the station without a special pass," was the reply I received.

At 10 o'clock the next morning I went toward the railroad station. There was an NKVD guard standing there and he said that nobody was permitted to go near the station. I produced my pass and then he told me to go to the station. I entered the station.

I wish to add that the railroad station in Izova is a very big building and usually there were big crowds especially of homeless children hanging around and begging there, and that day it was completely cleared of any of those people. Instead there were only well-dressed people just like me of whom there were about 50. A majority of these people appeared to me to be NKVD men dressed in civilian clothes, or Communist Party members.

I went to the restaurant. There was an unusual amount of food on display in the restaurant, food which I had never seen there before, because the only things on sale before were herrings and vodka. And the prices with which these foods on display were marked were extremely low.

An egg was marked "2 kopeks, a cutlet 5 kopeks, a chicken 50 kopeks," whereas the normal price for these products would be at least a hundred times more.

I asked the head of the regional Communist Party committee what this was all about, and he said to me, "Take a bottle of beer, sit down in a chair and drink it." I took it and I tasted the beer and it was something so good that I had never tasted before. But then later developments explained what this was all about.

A train came into the station consisting of 5 railroad cars whereas normally the length of the train would be between 10 and 12 cars. Emerging from that train I saw three people wearing what appeared to me to be Turkish caps. One of the first men was speaking Russian, but with a very poor accent. And accompanying him were about five Russians.

He asked them, "What station is this?" And the answer which he received was, "This is one of our small stations, and the people whom you see here are workmen who are ready to take off to the various places where they are working."

Then this foreigner approached the counter in the restaurant. He was given a bottle of beer. He tried that beer and he remarked that the prices seemed very low to him.

The Russian who was accompanying him explained that these are high prices which prevail at railroad stations, that in the towns and villages the prices are much lower still.

This train later took off toward Sevastopol, and then another train came and the Russians who had been playing in the act I have described boarded it and this train took off in the direction of Moscow.

The chief of the regional Communist Party by the name of Sayenko said to us, "Whatever you have seen here, cut off your tongue about it," which was a way of saying that we should never mention a word about it to anybody. And the food in the station was then marked with entirely different prices.

Mr. McTIGUE. This was a little staged window dressing to impress visiting dignitaries?

Mr. PUSHKAR. Absolutely, yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you ever learn by any chance who these dignitaries were?

Mr. PUSHKAR. I don't know, and from the remarks which the chief of the party committee made to us about keeping absolute silence about it, I am sure that nobody could find out any details. My guess is that they were either Turkish or Yugoslavs.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now, did there come a time when you were again arrested by the NKVD?

Mr. PUSHKAR. In 1936 the so-called Yezhov period started in the Soviet Union. Yezhov was the new head of the NKVD, and at that time all the people who had ever been arrested before for political reasons were rearrested, and I was one of them. I was put in the Kharkov prison.

Mr. McTIGUE. And your only offense was that you had been arrested before; is that correct?

Mr. PUSHKAR. I was charged that I am an enemy of the people and that I continue to be a member of the counterrevolutionary organization. I said that I am not a member of anything and that I am only interested in my job. I was interrogated many times, and the interrogations were accompanied by beatings and tortures of which I have marks on my fingers to this day. My fingers were put between doors and the doors were slammed on them. I was subjected to a so-called conveyor system which means that over a period of 18 days and nights I was constantly being interrogated without getting a chance to take a bit of rest or sleep. I would be sitting down and then fall from sheer exhaustion, and then cold water would be poured on me, and I was revived and the interrogation would continue. And always they demanded of me that I should sign a confession that I was a member of a counterrevolutionary Ukrainian nationalist and Pethura organization.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Would you show us your fingers so that we can see them? Thank you.

Mr. PUSHKAR. I did not sign any confession.

One night our group was put on railroad cars and we went in an easterly direction. Our trip to the city of Vladivostok lasted 56 days. All the nourishment we had during the trip was 300 grams of bread per day and water.

On our arrival in Vladivostok our sentences were read to us. I did not appear before any court, but I was told that I was sentenced to 10 years, 10 years at hard labor.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you taken to serve your sentence?

Mr. PUSHKAR. To the camp in Kolyma which is close to Alaska. There we mined gold. We were put in tents, in canvas tents on top of which snow was piled. The only heat we had was a steel barrel into which we put firewood, and the smoke stayed inside the tent.

Mr. McTIGUE. What kind of people were in the camp?

Mr. PUSHKAR. My brigade was composed exclusively of Ukrainians and the most numerous in the entire camp were Ukrainians with the exception of the brigadier who was a Russian and a common criminal, and his name was Bagryantzev.

Mr. McTIGUE. How long did you spend in this camp?

Mr. PUSHKAR. Until 1940.

Mr. McTIGUE. Under what conditions were you released?

Mr. PUSHKAR. Sometimes people are released for good behavior and for fulfilling above their required quota of work. I was among a group who had overfulfilled their quota and that was the reason why I was liberated from the camp.

Mr. McTIGUE. Can you come around here, Mr. Interpreter? Is this a document of release from this last camp? Was this given to Mr. Pushkar?

Mr. OLESNICKI. Pushkar. Issued to Citizen Pushkar. This is the criminal code section under which he was sentenced, section 54 of the criminal code, which is counter-revolutionary activity.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you testify at the Kravchenko trial?

Mr. PUSHKAR. Yes; I was a witness in the Kravchenko case in Paris.

Mr. McTIGUE. And the book you have just shown the committee, Mr. Pushkar, is entitled "I Chose Freedom," and in demonstrating the book you turned to page 14 of the annex?

Mr. PUSHKAR. Page 14 of the annex, and on page 14 of the annex—

Mr. McTIGUE. On page 14 of the annex is a reproduction of the release which you obtained from the Soviet slave labor camp of Kolyma, and that is the release which you have been testifying about here today, is that correct?

Mr. PUSHKAR. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And the exact duplicate of that release is contained in the book I Chose Freedom, by Kravchenko?

Mr. PUSHKAR. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. After your release from the slave labor camp, where did you return to?

Mr. PUSHKAR. I went to the city of Poltava in the Ukraine.

Mr. McTIGUE. How long did you live there?

Mr. PUSHKAR. Until the arrival of the Germans and when the Germans were retreating I went along, choosing freedom in Western Europe.

Mr. McTIGUE. You went along with the German retreat in 1943, is that correct?

Mr. PUSHKAR. 1943 before the actual retreat of the Germans.

Mr. McTIGUE. And then where did you locate after 1943?

Mr. PUSHKAR. At first in the city of Lviv which is in Western Ukraine and then in Prague, Czechoslovakia, and finally in Regensburg, Germany.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. PUSHKAR. In 1950.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you admitted into the United States under the Displaced Persons Act?

Mr. PUSHKAR. Yes; as a displaced person.

Mr. McTIGUE. I have no further questions.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Pushkar, the ruse and fakery and fraud exhibited by the Russians at the railroad station at Lozova is typical of what our committee has heard before about how the Russians stage these conducted tours for foreigners.

It reminds me of what the Russian Communists may have given to Attlee and his entourage when they visited Moscow and Peiping recently.

Mr. PUSHKAR. I am certain that there is great similarity between the two.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Pushkar, when you were at the slave-labor camp mining gold, did you have a quota per day?

Mr. PUSHKAR. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. How much did you produce?

Mr. PUSHKAR. The quota for 2 people, team of 2 people, and it is called naparnik—one is a strong man and the other one is his helper—in the team of 2 I was the stronger of the team, our task was to dig 10 cubic meters of soil, sandy soil, containing gold, and to cart it to the place where it was washed. In principle it is not too difficult to dig that amount, but the difficulty was that it was frozen stiff. It is frozen so hard that you hit it with a sharp implement and there is no effect. You blunt your steel and you cannot separate these blocks of frozen sand. But, nevertheless, I was able to fulfill my quota.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Pushkar, on the average, how many hours a day did you work?

Mr. PUSHKAR. There were 2 shifts, 24 hours, in which people work. One is the night shift and one is the day shift. The basic shift is 12 hours, but, in addition to that, we had to do another 4 hours of extra so-called service work.

Mr. FEIGHAN. That is, light work?

Mr. PUSHKAR. Service work, which I want to explain.

Mr. FEIGHAN. That makes a total of 16 hours?

Mr. PUSHKAR. Which makes a total of 16 hours.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Pushkar, how many days a week did you put in. how many days a week were you forced to work?

Mr. PUSHKAR. Every day.

Mr. FEIGHAN. How much were you paid in wages?

Mr. PUSHKAR. Not 1 kopeck.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Isn't it very strange that you worked 16 hours a day, 7 days a week, and got nothing in pay or recompense in the so-called workers' paradise?

Mr. PUSHKAR. I not only think it is strange, I think it is criminal.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Pushkar, do you have a copy of the original of the statement which you have presented, a copy in Ukrainian?

Mr. PUSHKAR. In English.

Mr. FEIGHAN. We have a copy of the translation which later, Mr. Counsel, after we have it properly authenticated, I would suggest that we include as an exhibit in the record of the hearings.

Mr. PUSHKAR. The Ukrainian Congress Committee has it, and they will supply that Ukrainian copy.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Fine.

Well, Mr. Pushkar, on behalf of the committee, we wish to thank you very much for this contribution.

Mr. PUSHKAR. I am very happy that at least in my old age I was able to appear before this committee to tell the truth about life under communism.

Mr. FEIGHAN. You have made an excellent contribution in throwing light on the way of life in this workers' paradise of Russian Communist imperialism.

Mr. PUSHKAR. In this workers' paradise I weighed only 112 pounds and now I weigh 200 [Laughter.]

Mr. FEIGHAN. I take it you have no desire to return to the utopia, to the workers' paradise?

Mr. PUSHKAR. God forbid.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you, Mr. Pushkar.

TESTIMONY OF BOHDAN KOLZANIWSKY, THROUGH THE INTERPRETER, ROMAN OLESNICKI

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you stand, please? What is your name?

Mr. KOLZANIWSKY. Bohdan Kolzaniwsky.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you hold up your hand and take the oath? Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. KOLZANIWSKY. I do, yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Please be seated.

Mr. Counsel, you may proceed.

Mr. McTIGUE. For the record, your full name is Bohdan Kolzaniwsky, and you live in Philadelphia, Pa.; is that right?

Mr. KOLZANIWSKY. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where do you reside in Philadelphia?

Mr. KOLZANIWSKY. 825 24th Street.

Mr. McTIGUE. In what capacity are you employed?

Mr. KOLZANIWSKY. In a leather factory in Philadelphia. The name is the Swoboda Co.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you born, Mr. Kolzaniwsky?

Mr. KOLZANIWSKY. Born February 3, 1916, in Nywytsia, in Ukraine.

Mr. McTIGUE. Can you tell us, Mr. Witness, very briefly some of the things that happened to you when the Bolsheviks occupied the western portions of Ukraine?

Mr. KOLZANIWSKY. Yes. In 1939 I was on that side of the Bug River which was occupied by the Germans. The organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists at that time was recruiting people for military units which were supposed to go and fight on the other side of the river against the Communists.

I was in a unit which was supposed to go into the deep underground and penetrate into the Soviet Union, but surprisingly we had to battle the guards who had intercepted us at the border, and as a result I was caught on the border by the NKVD.

Mr. McTIGUE. Your testimony is to the effect that you were seeking to penetrate the Soviet occupied part of the Ukraine on the other side of the Bug River as a contribution to or in an effort to help the Ukraine and, of course, the cause.

Mr. KOLZANIWSKY. I was part of such a unit whose task it was to liberate the Ukraine from Soviet rule.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you were attempting to get over into the Soviet occupied areas in order to penetrate from within; is that correct?

Mr. KOLZANIWSKY. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. It was at that time that you were caught and arrested by the NKVD; is that correct?

Mr. KOLZANIWSKY. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. After your arrest by the NKVD at that time, what happened?

Mr. KOLZANIWSKY. When I was caught by the NKVD, I was with another man and both of us were without arms or ammunition. It was at a distance of about 15 kilometers from the border, and we did not admit that we were part of that armed unit. I did it for the purpose that I did not want my friends who were possibly caught at the same time to be implicated by me.

We were tortured in order to confess that we were taking part in such a raid.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you tortured by the NKVD?

Mr. KOLZANIWSKY. The NKVD tortured me.

Mr. McTIGUE. What kind of tortures were you put through?

Mr. KOLZANIWSKY. The first day I was brought to the city of Sokal near the border and put in prison. There I was stripped naked and was beaten with rubber hoses so that there would be no signs on my body from the beatings. During these beatings my mouth was tied so that I could not shout out. Such beatings were administered to me several times, and I fainted each time, lost consciousness.

After 4 days I was taken along with other military prisoners to the city of Lviv and put in prison there.

Mr. McTIGUE. I want to identify the year again.

Mr. KOLZANIWSKY. This all happened in January, 1940.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now were there others, or your companion, for example, who was arrested with you, did they undergo the same kind of torture, do you know?

Mr. KOLZANIWSKY. Yes. All of those who were arrested together with me were given the same treatment.

Mr. McTIGUE. After you were transferred to the second prison, what happened?

Mr. KOLZANIWSKY. For a few days nobody bothered us at all. Then they called us out for interrogations one by one, usually at night. I was called out only once, but during this interrogation I was not beaten. Others, however, returning from interrogations were beaten so badly and they had such internal injuries they produced gangrene. The only scar I had left was a scar on my left ear from one of the beatings.

There were two instances when my cellmates were brought back after interrogations and placed in the cell in an unconscious state and they died without recovering consciousness.

There was one interrogator by the name of Piemonov, a Russian, who interrogated me. He did not actually beat me, but he forced me to dance the Cossack dance where you stoop down low on the floor kicking out one leg at a time, and he would force me to do that until I would fall down in exhaustion and then he would use an awl and dig it into me so that I should get up and do some more dancing for him.

Mr. McTIGUE. How long were you confined in this prison?

Mr. KOLZANIWSKY. Until March, 1941. After this I was transferred to a special department and it seemed to me that in this special depart-

ment everyone had to confess to whatever crime he was accused of. People were broken down into confessing there. Their interrogations were conducted both at night and in the daytime and we were given only one meal every 24 hours, late at night.

I would not sign any confession, they threatened me that they will hold me for 10 years and pull all the guts out of me until they forced me to make a confession and to implicate my friends.

Mr. McTIGUE. You didn't confess at any time?

Mr. KOLZANIWSKY. I did not confess to anything.

Mr. McTIGUE. Can you tell us what happened in this prison about the time the German Army was advancing toward the city?

Mr. KOLZANIWSKY. In May 1941 I was transferred to another prison in the same city which was called Brygidky and there were about 13,000 people imprisoned there. On Sunday, June 20, 1941, we heard antiaircraft artillery. We thought those were maneuvers, but a few hours later bombs began to fall on the city and then we knew it was war. In place of 1 guard, 5 guards were now put in every hallway. At noon that same day they began calling out people from the cells and led them down into the cellar and we heard shouts that people were being executed wholesale. We could hear the goings-on very easily because the window of my cell was very close to the entrance to the cellar. People were being taken out in large number all day and all night.

On the night of Monday the NKVD abandoned the prison. That's when we began to break open the locks. Some had succeeded in breaking out and about 100 people were free and in the yard in the early morning of Tuesday. I saw from my window that a detachment of NKVD guards entered through the main gate and they started shooting at the people who had been assembled in the yard and there they killed a few dozen of them.

Those that remained in the yard were ordered back in the cells and ordered to lie face down on the floors of their cells. On Wednesday I was also called out to be executed. In order to save myself I said that there was no man with such a name in my cell. When they came a second time I said that the man by that name had already been called out and that my papers had been given to another NKVD man. In this way I survived until Saturday and on Saturday there were only about 12 men left in my cell out of the original 100.

About the middle of that week I witnessed the following scene. There was a family consisting of a father, mother, and two children, and they were being searched by the guards. The mother was begging the guards that they should at least spare the children, but very soon they were all shot to death.

When there was no more room in the cellar to hold the corpses, they dug a deep pit in the prison yard and piled the corpses into that. And they were executing groups of prisoners who were standing at the edge of that pit in the yard and they were falling down inside of it.

During that week we did not get any food at all and many people lost their minds. On Saturday morning when German artillery fire was very close to the city, the NKVD men finally abandoned our prison. About a half hour later groups of armed men carrying short arms came in, men whom we later found out to have been Ukrainians belonging to the Ukrainian Nationalist organization who liberated us from prison. I had hidden in the cellar of St. George's Cathedral.

When I was leaving the prison I saw the windows and the doors of the cellars were walled in. When I wanted to look into one of the big cellars which was underneath the prison chapel in the yard, one of these Ukrainian armed partisans told me, "Don't look in there. There is no time. It is full of corpses." There was a pit about 30 by 15 feet and walking over it it was filled with earth on top, but walking over it you could feel that there were bodies underneath. All around the walls there were splattered bloodstains.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Witness, how many people would you estimate were killed?

Mr. KOLZANIWSKY. Out of the original of approximately 13,000 which had been imprisoned in this particular prison between 600 and 700 got out alive.

Mr. McTIGUE. You will recall, Mr. Chairman, I am sure, that we had a witness in Detroit, a witness in Chicago, and also a witness in Munich who testified to this terrible massacre at the jail. They were among the fortunates who escaped. The testimony here has certainly corroborated the testimony that has been given in some of our other hearings.

Do you have in your possession, Mr. Kolzaniwsky, any photographs or pictures?

Mr. KOLZANIWSKY. When a Ukrainian Legion under the leadership of Szukhewych entered the city the people of the city went searching around all the prisons and that was the time when these thousands of corpses were recovered and their families were identifying them, and from that time I also have pictures, photographs.

Mr. McTIGUE. By whom were these pictures taken?

Mr. KOLZANIWSKY. My friends on the spot made them and I got copies of them.

Mr. McTIGUE. You got copies of these from your friends who made these photographs at Yanivske and other prisons in Lvov.

Mr. KOLZANIWSKY. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that we have these photographs marked for identification and entered as exhibit NR 20 with the first marked "NR 20" and the following marked "NR 20-A, B, C," in succession. I think they make an important contribution to our record. They certainly give a photographic story of our witness' testimony.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, these photographs will be accepted for the record.

Mr. McTIGUE. There is one more question I have, Mr. Chairman. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. KOLZANIWSKY. March 28, 1950.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you located just before you emigrated to the United States?

Mr. KOLZANIWSKY. From Austria, Landeck, Tyrol, Austria.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you admitted to the United States in 1950 under the Displaced Persons' Act?

Mr. KOLZANIWSKY. Yes; under the Displaced Persons' Act from Landeck.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Kolzaniwsky, you mentioned about a woman and children who were massacred and also others who were shot in the courtyard. Were you able to see those personally from your cell?

Mr. KOLZANIWSKY. No; I could not see because this was by the

wall which was underneath my window. I only heard it. I did not see it. But I saw with my own eyes corpses of women in the yard.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Kolzaniwsky. We appreciate the contribution that you have made and your forthright and very excellent description of these atrocities engaged in and perpetrated by the Russian Communists.

TESTIMONY OF YURIJ LAWRYNENKO, THROUGH THE INTERPRETER, ROMAN OLESNICKI

Mr. McTIGUE. The next witness, Mr. Chairman, is Mr. Yuriy Lawrynenko.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you stand up? Will you state your name, please?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. Yuriy Lawrynenko.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you hold up your hand and take this oath? Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. Yes; I do.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Please be seated.

Mr. McTIGUE. Are you residing in New York at the present time, Mr. Lawrynenko?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Whereabouts?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. 146 East 98th Street.

Mr. McTIGUE. And in what capacity are you employed, Mr. Lawrynenko?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. I am a free-lance writer.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you born?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. In the Kiev region of the Ukraine.

Mr. McTIGUE. What year?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. May 3, 1905.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were born in 1905; is that correct?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Do you remember what happened in the Ukraine during the years of 1932 and 1933?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. Yes; I remember.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were 27 years old at that time: is that correct?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Tell us something about what happened during those years.

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. I was witness to a famine which was organized in the Ukraine by Moscow. I saw the famine ravage both the capital of the Ukraine, Kharkov, and also the countryside, and in particular the village of my birth.

Mr. McTIGUE. What were you doing at that time?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. I was at first a student and then I worked on the official newspaper published in the city of Kharkov.

Mr. McTIGUE. All right; Mr. Lawrynenko, you were testifying as to what happened in your village.

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. My native village originally consisted of about 2,000 inhabitants, and I know personally that at least 700 of them died of starvation. I also know that this year was a normal one as far as harvests were concerned.

Mr. McTIGUE. What was the population of your village?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. 2,011.

Mr. McTIGUE. And out of the 2,000 about 700 died of starvation during the period 1932-33?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. I personally know this. All the grain and other food products produced by this village was confiscated by force. At first the food was stored in the local church, and later it was transferred to the nearest railroad station. Searching parties went around the village looking for food and looking even into the pots in the kitchens. On the one hand, the confiscated grain was transported to Moscow and—

Mr. FEIGHAN. When you referred to searching parties, you meant the Russian Communists?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. Special brigadiers were at that time dispatched from Leningrad and other Russian cities and the total of these brigadiers was in excess of 20,000 people, and their task was to search and confiscate the grain in the Ukrainian villages. And they could call upon the Red army to help them.

On the one hand the confiscated grain was transported to Russia where it was stored in railroad stations and sometimes out in the open. The other part of that grain was being transported to Odessa and other parts of the Black Sea, and from there it was transported to foreign lands.

My wife's family escaped from Poltava to the city of Voroniez, which is in Russia, and there they were able to save themselves from starvation because at the railroad stations of Russia grain was plentiful. Kharkov is the main railroad center of the Ukraine, and in that city I myself saw whole trainloads of grain being dispatched to Russia day by day during the famine and the ravaging of the Ukraine. This was a mass phenomena. Many of my friends and colleagues undertook trips as far as Moscow and Leningrad in order to buy bread there which they brought along in suitcases back to their families, and in this manner they were able to save their families from starvation.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you personally feel the effects of this terrible famine?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. I lived in the capital, and personally I felt it to a lesser extent than people in smaller cities felt it. There were many times when I went hungry.

Mr. McTIGUE. Why do you think, Mr. Lawrynenko, that the Russians staged this terrible famine of grain in a year when crops were plentiful?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. I remember from press reports of the party newspapers in Ukraine of June 1932 Molotov taking part in these conferences. At this conference with Molotov the president of the Council of People's Commissars of Ukraine by the name of Chubar stated to Molotov that the plan of grain collections as determined by the Central Government in Moscow was contrary to reality, and he asked that it should be abandoned. But Molotov replied, "This is no place for discussions. The plan must be carried out."

Mr. FEIGHAN. Molotov, is that the same Molotov who is now the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. The very same one, Vyacheslav Molotov, the same man.

The famine was organized in order to break the opposition which the Ukrainians were displaying to the policy of colonial exploitation of the Ukraine by the Russians from Moscow.

There was a double blow delivered against Ukraine, one against the basic population element of the Ukraine which is the agricultural element of the peasants. The other was against the educated people of the Ukraine, that is, the intelligentsia.

According to my personal observations I have come to the conclusion that during the period of the famine at least 6 million people died in the Ukraine as a result of it, and about 80 percent of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, that is, the classes of the Ukrainian leadership, also perished during this period.

For example, at that time there were about 240 authors working in the Ukraine. About 200 of them were liquidated, and most of them I knew personally. There were about 84 prominent linguists, language experts, in Ukraine, of whom 62 were liquidated.

I have compiled a list of 62 different departments of cultural and scientific life in the Ukraine, and I have found that there was a similar picture to the 2 examples cited above in all the 62 divisions. This is in reference to the cultural leaders of the nation. The number increases to tens of thousands when you consider that subject to liquidation were also the middle classes of the intelligentsia, that is, white-collar workers, teachers, and similar professional people.

I myself was arrested and declared a bourgeois nationalist, an enemy of the people, merely because of the fact that as a student in the course of intellectual discussions I defended the position that the Ukrainians formed a part of the Western European culture and that therefore Ukraine is alien to Russian culture which the Moscow rulers were attempting to impose upon Ukraine.

MR. MCTIGUE. When were you arrested by the NKVD, Mr. Lawrynenko?

MR. LAWRYNENKO. December 24, 1933.

MR. MCTIGUE. After the charges which you have just explained here during the course of your testimony, did there come a time when the NKVD had made certain propositions to you?

MR. LAWRYNENKO. At first I was threatened that I will be put before the firing squad unless I confessed to the crimes with which I was charged, but when I refused to confess to anything, they made me a proposition that I should become a secret collaborator of the NKVD, and in reward for that I would be made assistant professor at the university.

When I refused they made another proposition. The second proposition was that I should go abroad and work among the Ukrainians in foreign lands as an agent provocator. This was a horrible personal experience to me because I had maintained during the investigation that I was a loyal citizen of the Soviet Union, therefore, my refusal to accept a job of that sort, which was supposed to be for the good of the Soviet Union, was the same as if I had admitted the crimes with which I had been charged.

MR. MCTIGUE. What finally happened?

MR. LAWRYNENKO. I was set free, but I could not find any work. I think that they were trying to compel me to accept one of their propositions by starving me into acceptance.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did there come a time when you were arrested again?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. What for and when?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. I was arrested on February 4, 1935. I was then held for 16 months and interrogated only 2 times during that whole period. I was charged with violation of section 54 of the Criminal Code, the Soviet Criminal Code, which is counterrevolutionary activity, organizing and agitating for counterrevolutionary activity.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Does that section describe what a bourgeois nationalist is in some degree?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. It is merely part of the arsenal which the Russian Communists used under which they classify bourgeois nationalist. I don't remember whether that section itself uses in the text the words "bourgeois nationalism." There are 14 subdivisions in that section of the Criminal Code.

Mr. FEIGHAN. A bourgeois nationalist is considered a counterrevolutionist?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. It is a synonym.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Are the Ukrainians called bourgeois nationalists because they are patriotic and they love their country and their culture, and because they have a national spirit? Also, because they want to have a country with their own sovereignty and independence and also because they oppose Russian imperialism?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. Yes; absolutely. For example, in the year 1933 such was the method of terror applied against the Ukrainians that merely the persistent use of the Ukrainian language was sufficient reason to be classified as a bourgeois nationalist.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Bourgeois nationalism then is a very common crime, a most common crime in Ukraine?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. Every day and every hour the term "bourgeois nationalist" is on every page of every newspaper, and at every meeting that term is employed to castigate those with whom the ruling class is dissatisfied. But this term "bourgeois nationalist" is applied only to Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Caucasians, and other non-Russian nationalities. During the whole time that I was in the Soviet Union I never heard the term "bourgeois nationalist" applied to Russians, to ethnic Russians. There are all shades of bourgeois nationalists, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Caucasians, but there does not exist a Russian bourgeois nationalism.

Mr. FEIGHAN. It is interesting and important to note that bourgeois nationalism is found only in the non-Russian nations like the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Armenia, and Georgia.

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. It seems to indicate that the Russians are under a mania of persecution of some sort whereby they fear that such spirit of national difference necessarily will come to the fore among the various non-Russian nations which compose the Soviet Union.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Lawrynenko, were you in Kharkov during the time of the manmade famine, when Edouard Herriot, the French diplomat, came to make an investigation?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. In the summer of 1933 Edouard Herriot arrived at the Kharkiv Airport.

Mr. McTIGUE. In an airplane?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. Yes. The route which M. Edouard Herriot was supposed to take from the airport to downtown Kharkov was especially prepared for that occasion. Buildings and fences were painted, the many corpses that had been lying in the streets, the people who had died from starvation, were removed, and the whole place was especially staged for the trip which he was to take through the city.

Edouard Herriot in an interview declared that the Ukraine was a most prosperous and flowering country, and this was one of the most horrible personal blows that I had ever experienced because I knew that this was far from the truth.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Was this the same year in which over 6 million Ukrainians died because of the forced famine?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. The same year. This was the same year when 6 million people died of starvation. That is why it was so difficult for me to reconcile the statement made by Herriot with the real conditions then prevailing.

Mr. FEIGHAN. When the NKVD gave you a proposition to go to foreign lands and act as an agent provocateur among the Ukrainians in these foreign lands, did they tell you what they wanted you to do precisely?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. Because I had refused immediately they did not go into details with me, but from the conversations I had with them I had the idea that what they wanted me to do was not only to make reports to them but also to organize some kind of diversion, political diversion, among the Ukrainians living abroad, to create disunity among the groups of Ukrainians abroad.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Were you arrested by the NKVD and sent to the Arctic tundra?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. Yes; I was deported to the Taimyr Peninsula on the Arctic Ocean on June 12, 1936.

Mr. FEIGHAN. How long were you there?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. Three years.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Did many people die when you were there from starvation?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. We were supposed to build a city, but the cemetery was growing faster than the city. We lived in tents in this tundra camp on the Arctic Ocean. The tundra does not furnish sufficient building material to be able to construct buildings other than tents. This was an entirely new camp established at that time, and the inmates were at least 80 percent Ukrainians. We mined nickel, copper, and platinum.

In 1937 I was put into a group of which at least 1,000 were executed, that is, 10 percent. The original group was 10,000 people, and during the course of 1 year at least 1,000 of them were executed in that camp. Most of them were Ukrainians. Actually, 800 of them were put before firing squads. Our group was separated from the main camp, and we had the distinction of having inferior quarters and less food than the other groups of prisoners.

Lists of people condemned to die were received from Moscow by radio communication. It is my belief that those who were spiritually strong and unconquerable were precisely those who were executed in that camp.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Approximately how many people in your group who were not executed died from starvation or other causes?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. I couldn't tell exactly, but people froze to death or just dropped dead. It was a daily occurrence; starvation and other malnutrition diseases were prevalent there.

Mr. FEIGHAN. How many hours a day did you work in this slave-labor camp?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. Nobody checked the actual hours. We started work when it was still dark in the morning and stopped when it was dark again.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Can you roughly estimate how many hours?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. At least 12 hours.

Mr. FEIGHAN. How many days a week did you have to work?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. Six and sometimes seven, but that depended only on the weather. Sometimes there were such intense snowstorms you could not leave your tent for two paces.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Did you receive any pay for your labors in this "workers' paradise" of the Communists?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. I was never able to fulfill my quota, and that is why I never received any reward, nor even my normal food ration.

Mr. McTIGUE. When were you eventually released from this camp?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. I was released in July of 1939, and to the time spent in the prison camp was added the 18 months which I had previously spent in prison. I have documents to prove the various phases and the places where I had been.

Mr. McTIGUE. After your release from the prison camp did you return to the Ukraine and live there?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. I was prohibited from returning to the Ukraine for another 3 years. The sentence included 3 additional years of exile; that meant Siberia.

Mr. FEIGHAN. You mean exile?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. I had a so-called special residence document, a spetsi document, special residence document.

Mr. FEIGHAN. In Siberia?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. In the Northern Caucasus.

Mr. FEIGHAN. You mean you were exiled from your native land, the Ukraine, and could not return to the Ukraine for a period of 3 years?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. Yes, that is right. And I was also prohibited from living in any large city for that same period of time.

Mr. McTIGUE. After that period of time did you then return to the Ukraine? When did you return?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. The Germans came to North Caucasus when my 3-year term was just about to end.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you later emigrate to Germany?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. On January 1, 1943, I went to Kiev to see my mother, and then I was recruited by the Germans as an ostarbeiter and sent to Austria.

Mr. McTIGUE. How long did you stay in Austria?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. 1944, 1945, 1946, and part of 1947 in Austria.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. In 1950 as a displaced person.

Mr. McTIGUE. As a displaced person. And where were you between 1946 and 1950?

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. In Germany, in a camp in Mittenwald, in the American Zone.

Mr. McTIGUE. I have no further questions.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Lawrynenko. We appreciate immensely the contribution you have made to the work of our committee, and we particularly appreciate the forthright statements that you have presented to us.

Thank you.

Mr. LAWRYNENKO. I consider it my duty to my people to give this testimony on their behalf.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. McTIGUE. The next witness is Mr. Sydorec.

TESTIMONY OF HRYHORJI SYDOREC, THROUGH THE INTERPRETER, ROMAN OLESNICKI

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you state your name, please?

Mr. SYDOREC. Hryhorji Sydorec.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you raise your hand and take this oath?

Do you solemnly swear you will tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SYDOREC. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. You may be seated. Mr. Counsel, will you proceed?

Mr. McTIGUE. You are residing in Trenton, N. J., at the present time, Mr. Sydorec?

Mr. SYDOREC. Yes.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you born?

Mr. SYDOREC. In the village of Zhornoklov, Poltava, Ukraine, April 17, 1910.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you in the Ukraine at the time the Communists first occupied it?

Mr. SYDOREC. Yes. Yes, I was there when they came there, and they instituted a reign of terror against the population.

Mr. McTIGUE. Do you remember Christmas Day of 1929 when the Communists came to your village?

Mr. SYDOREC. Yes, I remember the date, December 25, 1929, as the day when the local Communist Party and the Komsomol organized the destruction of our church in the village.

Mr. McTIGUE. This happened on Christmas Day?

Mr. SYDOREC. On Christmas Day, 1929, at 10 o'clock in the morning. A large group of about 100 people, members of the Communist Party and of the Komsomol broke into the church and went all the way to the altar. They grabbed the priest who was celebrating the service by his hair, they tried to pull him out of the church, but the people who were inside the church praying tried to defend the priest and not permit him to be dragged out of the church, and that's when a fight inside the church between the two groups ensued.

This fight started inside the church and ended outside in the churchyard. The people would not permit the Communists to take the priest away. At 12 o'clock noon that day 2 automobiles full of NKVD men came from the neighboring city and they arrested the local priest, whose name was Father Konstanty Skiba, along with 50 other people.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you among those arrested?

Mr. SYDOREC. No, I was not arrested at that time, but they tried to catch my mother who stood up in defense of the church.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did they arrest your mother?

Mr. SYDOREC. She was not arrested because she managed to escape to the neighboring village which was her native village.

Mr. McTIGUE. On that same day that the Communists took the action against the church, did they do anything about the cemetery in the village?

Mr. SYDOREC. They took all the pictures down in the church, they demolished the altar inside the church, and all the valuable things which they found inside the church were taken away. Those Communists who had been dispatched to do the job took all the valuable things with them. After they had ruined the church, within about 2 weeks they took the bells down from the church. There were 7 bells on our church; 6 of them were small size and they were carted away immediately, but the seventh one was of a large size. That one was very heavy weighing 50 pood which is the equivalent of 1,800 pounds, and that bell they could not cart away. It was left lying in the roadside until the next summer.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now, in 1929-30 did the Communists start a drive for all Ukrainian farmers to join a komuna?

Mr. SYDOREC. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Wasn't this komuna something we know today as the kolhost?

Mr. SYDOREC. At first it was called a komuna, and this was organized by foreign people who came from the cities and who were not local peasants at all.

Mr. McTIGUE. What was your reaction to the people who started that drive?

Mr. SYDOREC. The local peasants were frightened into subjugation because any disobedience of these specialists who came to the village would invoke the aid of the Russian soldiers against them. In 1929 they started mass collectivization. Many people opposed and they did not wish to join these collective farms.

Mr. McTIGUE. What happened to those who refused to join?

Mr. SYDOREC. Those who refused to join the collective farms were punished in different ways.

They were boycotted, they were refused the right to vote, and finally they were deported to Siberia. In addition to Siberia they were also deported to Vologda, Archangelsk, and other places.

Mr. McTIGUE. Do you remember a farmer in your village by the name of Ivan Hnitsaneskyj?

Mr. SYDOREC. I knew him very well.

Mr. McTIGUE. What happened to him?

Mr. SYDOREC. He was a very poor farmer. He did not wish to join the collective farm. He was sick at that time, lying in bed in his home. When the Communists came to see him with papers which they wanted him to sign declaring membership in the collective farm, he refused. He refused with the following words: "I am going to die. I do not wish to enter the next world as a komunar." When he said that, the group that had come to see him demolished his house, his children were pulled out of the house. His children froze to death because an order was given that nobody from this family is to be admitted into any other home in the village. So the father and the five children froze to death.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were the other farmers afraid to take these children into their homes?

Mr. SYDOREC. Strict orders were issued that whoever would take any of these children into their home, the same thing would happen to their home.

Mr. McTIGUE. What about the case of the other farmer in your village by the name of Ivan Paschenko?

Mr. SYDOREC. Paschenko, Ivan, he was also a poor farmer who was very religious. He was also ordered to join the collective farm and he refused. Thereupon a great amount of tax was levied on him. Also they levied large amounts of grain deliveries on him with which he could not comply because he could absolutely not deliver as much grain as they demanded from him from the little land that he owned.

He was called to the office of the village council, of the village Soviet, and he was severely beaten. Two ribs of his were broken and he died as a result of this beating. After that his entire family, consisting of seven persons, died of starvation.

Mr. McTIGUE. What happened to your mother and to your father at the hands of the Communists?

Mr. SYDOREC. My father was arrested in the year 1930 in the village of Zolotonoshi, the city of Zolotonoshi. He was held for 6 months and then they let him free. He was arrested again in 1932, and since that time nobody has seen him alive.

My mother made inquiries about him in the prison of Zolotonoshi and in another city, the city of Hlemiaziv. Only on one occasion my mother saw my father in the prison of the town of Hlemiaziv as he and other prisoners had been taken out for a walk. She saw him in rags and looking emaciated and very weak, as well as the other prisoners. She wanted to talk to him but they would not permit her to talk with him.

My mother at that time was also swollen from starvation and she could hardly walk. The next time she came there and tried to see him they answered that he was no longer there. My mother returned to her home and she never tried again.

The property of the entire family was taken away and we could not live in our village but were transferred to the city of Zolotonoshi. When I found out I was about to be arrested—

Mr. McTIGUE. Before you get on to that, did the Communists beat your mother, too?

Mr. SYDOREC. During the time when my father was under arrest they ordered my mother to pay money and contribute grain. She was also beaten up at that time. I have notes made of the names of those people who had beaten her up at that time. All her front teeth were knocked out.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did they also beat your sister?

Mr. SYDOREC. My sister was 14 years old. She was threatened with three guns so she would disclose where I was hiding. Because she was a minor they did not want to deport her. She went to look for my mother whom some good people had taken to the city before that and hidden, so my sister went to look for my mother.

They both lived in Zolotonoshi with a blacksmith by the name of Yurowski. He permitted them to stay in his blacksmith shop, and they were very grateful to him that he let them hide there.

Mother was very weak from the beatings which she had had and she could not work anywhere. The militia had to check up on her every day to find out whether she was being visited by anybody and especially for the purpose of finding out my whereabouts. My mother did not know where I was.

Mr. OLESNICKI. Now he is going to the moment of his arrest. Perhaps we had better start in with—

Mr. McTIGUE. I asked him about his sister and whether the sister was tortured by the NKVD.

Mr. SYDOREC. She was not beaten up deliberately like my mother was, but they prodded her on with revolver butts.

Mr. McTIGUE. In an effort to get money out of her, is that the reason?

Mr. SYDOREC. Yes in an effort to get the tax out of her, but particularly to reveal my whereabouts.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now, did there come a time when you were arrested by the NKVD? When?

Mr. SYDOREC. October 1, 1932, was the date of my arrest; 220 people were arrested along with me. An NKVD man passed sentence on all of us declaring that all of us had been found to be guilty of opposing the Government and were subject to deportation since 1930, but the deportation could not be carried out because we had been hiding and now that they had us, we had been rounded up, we were to be dispatched to the various labor camps where we should have been sent as early as 2 years before.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you sent to a labor camp after your arrest?

Mr. SYDOREC. Yes, we went to Siberia. The trip took 30 days. I was there for 3 years and 4 months in Bukachache, about 1,000 kilometers east of the Baikal Sea.

Mr. McTIGUE. When were you released from this camp?

Mr. SYDOREC. In January 1936.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you return to Ukraine after your release?

Mr. SYDOREC. When we were originally sentenced to that labor camp they told us that whoever gave good work would be released in 3 years, and those who did not put out, as much work would be held there for 5 years. I was released after 3 years and 4 months, and I was ordered that I could not return to my native village. I was permitted to reside only among laborers who would be under the surveillance of the Communist Party.

I came to my mother in Zolotonosha. I could not recognize her when I saw her because she had been so weakened from her experiences of hunger and worry. Neither did she recognize me. And she said to me, "You are my most honored guest and yet I can't even welcome you with a piece of bread because I am hungry myself."

I tried to find work, but I couldn't find any because I had been deprived of my rights as a citizen. Through the influence of some friends of my mother, I was finally able to get work in a factory.

Mr. McTIGUE. This was in 1936? What happened to you after that?

Mr. SYDOREC. I returned in January and I found work finally in March of 1936.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you in Ukraine at the time of the war between Germany and Russia?

Mr. SYDOREC. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And when did you leave Ukraine, what year?

Mr. SYDOREC. 1943 was the time I left Ukraine.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where did you go from Ukraine?

Mr. SYDOREC. First to the western part of Ukraine, and when the front was getting closer I escaped to Czechoslovakia.

There was also Communist Party activity in Czechoslovakia at that time and they were shooting people who had escaped from the Soviet Union, and some friendly Slovaks helped us to get across the border into Hungary. I escaped with my wife who had a small child 18 months old at that time.

In Hungary the Hungarian police surrendered me to the Nazi police, people who had the swastika on their armbands.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you remain in Germany until the end of the war?

Mr. SYDOREC. Yes; I was in Germany until the end of the war.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you emigrate to the United States?

Mr. SYDOREC. September 9, 1949.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you come here under the Displaced Persons Act?

Mr. SYDOREC. Yes; under the Displaced Persons Act.

Mr. McTIGUE. There is one last question I would like to ask. While you were in your local village which was under occupation by the Communists, did you compile a list of victims of the Communists, and have you got that list with you?

Mr. SYDOREC. Yes; I have such a list.

Mr. McTIGUE. These were victims of the Communists for various reasons such as famine, torture, execution, shootings, and so forth?

Mr. SYDOREC. I have a list of about 260 people who were deported to various places and about 435 people who were victims of the famine.

Mr. McTIGUE. How did you get this list of names?

Mr. SYDOREC. This is a list of persons who were either related to me or friends and all people whom I had personally known since early childhood.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now, you have executed a statement for this committee in Ukrainian, is that correct, Mr. Sydorec, and that original statement contains the list of the names that you compiled? Is that correct?

Mr. SYDOREC. Yes. This is the list of victims, those who perished in the famine. This list includes 155 families and in some families more than 2 persons died so the total is about 435 people.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Witness, is this the original statement that you executed for this committee which, among other things, contains a list of people known to you who were deported, another list of people who were executed, and a third list of people who were known to you who died as a result of the famine, all these people having died in your local village, who for one reason or another were at one time known to you?

Mr. SYDOREC. Yes, that is correct. This is a list of people, all of whom I had known personally.

Mr. McTIGUE. I have a copy of the original document which this witness has identified as being the statement which he prepared for this committee translated from Ukrainian to English, and Mr. Interpreter, before I submit this for the record, may I ask you to compare this document with the original and advise us if this is a correct translation of the original.

(The documents referred to were then examined.)

Mr. OLESNICKI. Mr. Counsel, it seems to me that this translation is from this document, but it starts from an inside page of it, that is, it starts from here.

Mr. McTIGUE. I don't think it makes any difference where it starts as long as the contents are the same.

Mr. OLESNICKI. It continues with these names and items. I don't think the numerals are the same, but the contents are. It seems that there is one small paragraph omitted here which is No. 2, and which does not appear in the translation.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I make this suggestion, Mr. Chairman, that we mark the original which the witness has just identified as "New York Exhibit NR 21" and make that a part of the record, and arrange for a translation of the original upon the committee's return to Washington, and that the translation, when it is secured from the Library of Congress, be admitted as marked for identification and admitted as "New York Exhibit NR 21-A."

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, it will be so ordered.

Mr. SYDOREC. Approximately how many people lived in your native village?

Mr. SYDOREC. About 350 families. The families were fairly large, between 7 and 8 people in each family, so the total number was probably in excess of 2,000.

Mr. FEIGHAN. It appears then that very few, if any, families avoided the scourge of Russian Communist brutality.

Mr. SYDOREC. Yes; very few families were able to avoid it because the requisitioning of grain according to Moscow's plans embraced the entire village. Special brigades went through the village searching for possible concealed grain by the local population. A special brigade searched everywhere, and even very small amounts which they would find concealed were taken away. People who were still able to move around because they had not been swollen from the famine went north to Russian territory, and in this manner they were able to survive the famine.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Sydorec.

Mr. SYDOREC. I am very grateful for being able to testify before this committee, and very grateful for being able to live in a country where I am a freeman, and I don't have to fear that early in the morning or during the night an NKVD man will come and pick me up.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Sydorec. You have made a fine contribution to the work of this committee, and we are indeed appreciative of your presence and the testimony you have given.

The subcommittee will now adjourn to meet at 10 o'clock in the morning in this room, and we will receive statements and testimony from some witnesses and receive affidavits and sworn statements from other witnesses. There will be brief question periods. Now we are adjourned until 10 o'clock tomorrow.

(Thereupon at 6:15 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned to Tuesday, October 12, 1954, at 10 a. m.)

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST TAKEOVER AND OCCUPATION OF THE NON-RUSSIAN NATIONS OF THE U. S. S. R.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1954

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE
TO INVESTIGATE COMMUNIST AGGRESSION
AND THE FORCED INCORPORATION OF THE
BALTIC STATES INTO THE U. S. S. R.,
New York, N. Y.

The committee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10:30 a. m., in room 36, United States Courthouse, Foley Square, New York, N. Y., Hon. M. A. Feighan (member of the committee) presiding.

Present: Mr. M. A. Feighan.

Also present: James J. McTigue, committee counsel.

Mr. FEIGHAN. The subcommittee will come to order.

Mr. Counsel, will you call the first witness?

Mr. McTIGUE. The first witness this morning, Mr. Chairman, is Mr. Jakiv Zozulya.

TESTIMONY OF JAKIV ZOZULYA, THROUGH THE INTERPRETER, ROMAN OLESNICKI

Mr. FEIGHAN. State your name, please.

Mr. ZOZULYA. Jakiv Zozulya.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Zozulya, will you raise your right hand? Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ZOZULYA. Yes, I do.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Counsel, will you proceed?

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Zozulya, where are you residing at the present time?

Mr. ZOZULYA. 211 Pulaski Street, Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

Mr. McTIGUE. In what capacity are you employed at the present time?

Mr. ZOZULYA. Professor of the Ukrainian Technical Institute in New York.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you born and when, Mr. Zozulya?

Mr. ZOZULYA. I was born on March 18, 1893, in the village of Lebedyn in Kiev Province, Ukraine.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you take part in the Ukrainian-Russian War of 1918 to 1920?

Mr. ZOZULYA. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. What part did you play in that war?

Mr. ZOZULYA. I was at that time a member of the Ukrainian Central Rada, which was the Parliament of Ukraine at that time. This body was the legislative body of Ukraine, and the executive branch of the Government was called the General Secretariat.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is it true that Ukraine established an independent government in 1917?

Mr. ZOZULYA. Yes. I personally took part in casting my vote for the passing of a law which carried the name of the Third Universale. of November 20, 1917. This law established the Ukrainian National Republic. This was the end of Russian rule for Ukraine and the beginning of an entirely independent state.

Mr. McTIGUE. Who among the great powers, Mr. Zozulya, recognized the independent government of Ukraine?

Mr. ZOZULYA. I have a list of the governments which did so: England, France, Russia, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Finland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Italy, the Vatican, Argentina, Georgia, and the Don Cossack Republic.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you say that the Russian Government, which was then in the process of establishing itself, recognize the independence of the Ukraine?

Mr. ZOZULYA. Yes; the Russian Government also recognized it. It took some time, however, before the Russian Government gave this recognition.

Mr. McTIGUE. The fact is that it did recognize the independent Government of Ukraine?

Mr. ZOZULYA. Yes; finally they did, by a note dated December 17, 1917, the Council of Peoples Commissars of Russia officially recognized the existence of the Ukrainian Independent Republic, but at the same time the note contained an ultimatum making such demands upon the Ukrainian state which were tantamount to the liquidation of its independence.

Mr. FEIGHAN. What were the demands in the ultimatum which the Bolsheviks gave the independent Ukrainian nation?

Mr. ZOZULYA. Three such demands in the ultimatum. The Ukrainian Government had disarmed all the Bolshevik units which were at that time in Ukraine. The first demand of the ultimatum was that these Bolshevik units be restored their arms.

The second demand was that the Ukrainian Republic may not withdraw any Ukrainian units which were serving on the western front, on the front against the German Army and Austrian Army. The Bolshevik units had already withdrawn from the German front at that time. So it was only the Ukrainian units which were holding the front against the west at that time.

The third demand was that the Ukrainian Republic may not permit the Don Cossacks to cross their territory from the western front to their own territory in the northern Caucasus. At that time the Don Cossacks had also proclaimed their independent republic. On the contrary, the Bolshevik authorities demanded that the Ukraine permit the passage of Russian troops through the territory in Ukraine to the Don territory in order to liquidate the Don Republic.

Mr. FEIGHAN. This sounds like the mutual-assistance pacts that the Russian Communists made in 1939 with Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania; is that right?

Mr. ZOZULYA. Yes; it is.

Mr. FEIGHAN. These are the same pacts that brought about the destruction of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia as independent nations; is that true?

Mr. ZOZULYA. Yes; that is right. The Ukrainian Government understood the terms of this ultimatum very well and, therefore, rejected it completely.

Mr. FEIGHAN. What happened when the Ukrainian Government rejected these demands of the ultimatum?

Mr. ZOZULYA. Within 48 hours there was war. In reality the Bolshevik forces did not cross the Ukrainian border until about 10 days later, but the 10 days were utilized by the Bolsheviks in order to create a fifth column uprising of their own in Ukraine whereby they would seize the government in the various cities, which they did not succeed in doing.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Did the Russians declare war on the Ukrainian nation?

Mr. ZOZULYA. There was no formal declaration but they actually went to war.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Could you tell us about the early Bolshevik methods of subverting the Ukraine from within while the war was going on?

Mr. ZOZULYA. The Bolsheviks set up a slogan of destroying the Ukrainian Central Rada, which was the Government, from within. There was a local Communist Party organization in existence in Ukraine at that time.

Mr. FEIGHAN. That should be called a fifth column?

Mr. ZOZULYA. This was the beginning of their fifth column. This Communist organization called a congress of Bolsheviks to the city of Kiev. This was on the 17th of December 1917. That is the same day on which the ultimatum was received from the Bolshevik government.

It was all prearranged. In other words, the Bolshevik government expected that the congress of Bolshevik delegates going on in Kiev, with the simultaneous receipt of the ultimatum from Moscow, would result in the collapse of the Ukrainian Government and that those delegates who were participating in the Communist congress will take over the Government.

Mr. FEIGHAN. That sounds very much like what the Russians did in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

Mr. ZOZULYA. Correct. But just the opposite happened in Kiev. When members of the Ukrainian Government appeared at the Communist congress, which was 2,000 men strong, a vote of confidence was expressed in the Ukrainian independent Government, and only 2 delegates cast their votes against it.

Mr. McTIGUE. It was in the Ukraine that the pattern for the Communist evil deeds which were to follow in the Baltic States and in the nations of Poland and Czechoslovakia, and others was established?

Mr. ZOZULYA. Yes, that is right. This is exactly what happened. I wish to indicate that the Ukraine was the first victim in the planned aggression staged by the Communists.

Mr. McTIGUE. What part did Mr. Leon Trotsky play in the destruction of the independent Ukrainian nation?

Mr. ZOZULYA. At that time Leon Trotsky was the Secretary of War of the Communist Government in Russia. He appointed commanders to take care of the Ukrainian front, and he himself personally supervised the doings of the fifth column in the Ukraine. In his own memoirs he admitted that he personally dispatched 500 special agents to the Ukraine to do diversionary work.

Our Government intercepted many of such agents and found documents with instructions of what they were to do on their person. Their main task was to compromise the leaders of the Ukrainian independence movement.

They said in these instructions, that the central rada as such was all right except its bourgeois members and that the Ukrainian Government is in reality composed of no one else but former generals.

Mr. FEIGHAN. What did they mean by stating the members were bourgeoisie?

Mr. ZOZULYA. Owners of great estates, manufacturers, industrialists, businessmen, and thus intimidated the peasants who had thought that they were getting individual rights as a result of the revolution, would not get such rights from the revolution.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Well, was it true that the members of the Government were the bourgeoisie as they interpreted it?

Mr. ZOZULYA. It is absolutely not true that they were bourgeoisie. For example, they said that Simon Petlura was a general, which had no foundation in truth whatsoever, because he was a journalist by profession.

There was not a single estate owner or industrialist in the Ukrainian Government. They were chosen by the democratic process. They were all chosen by free, secret, proportionate, and general voting powers.

Mr. FEIGHAN. That is by secret ballot?

Mr. ZOZULYA. That is by secret ballot.

Mr. McTIGUE. So it was Trotsky in the Ukraine, and 21 years later it was his evil successor, Vishinsky, in the Baltic States; is that right?

Mr. ZOZULYA. That is exactly the same pattern.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Zozulya, how long did the fighting last between the Russians and the Ukrainians?

Mr. ZOZULYA. Armed conflict lasted for at least 3 years.

Mr. McTIGUE. For what period?

Mr. ZOZULYA. From December 17, 1917, until November 20, 1920.

Mr. McTIGUE. After the defeat of the Ukrainian armed forces, what did the Bolshevik armed forces do? I would like to have the answer in two phases: What did the Bolshevik forces do, No. 1, to the army of the Ukrainian independent nation; and No. 2, to the civilians of the independent Ukrainian nation?

Mr. ZOZULYA. It was the usual custom of the Bolsheviks not to take prisoners of war. All who were taken were shot on the spot. I was personally trapped in the city of Kiev for 2 days after the Bolshevik forces had taken over the city. I witnessed armed units of the Bolshevik army roaming the streets of the city of Kiev and intercepting soldiers and people in the streets, and if on any person any kind of document issued by the Ukrainian independent government was found, such person was either shot on the spot or taken to a special camp which was established for them in the royal palace.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Going back to your statement that the Russians took no prisoners, did not Genghis Khan use the same practice in his armed conquests of centuries ago?

Mr. ZOZULYA. That is correct. This is exactly the same method that was used by Genghis Khan.

I was in uniform at the time we were talking about, although my civilian function was that of a legislator; in my military capacity I was attached to a military hospital in the capital. That is the reason why I remained after the Bolshevik forces had taken over, and I was hiding for 2 days.

I hid in the anatomy laboratory of the hospital on January 28, 1918. I was very much surprised when the hospital gates were opened at 6 o'clock in the morning, and many trucks piled high with corpses pulled in. At least 100 bodies were brought in. When the trucks had left, I went out and had a look at these dead people, and among them I recognized many friends of mine. I also saw the bodies of children and also of an invalid without a leg. Among those executed were three members of the Ukrainian Parliament. Their noses were cut off, and their eyes were taken out. When about 1 month later the Ukrainian Republic forces reoccupied the capital, photographs were taken of these victims, and they were published and are available.

Twelve Ukrainian doctors were shot in the streets at that time, although they were carrying Red Cross armbands and had been called out to do emergency work in the streets; also, 400 pupils of the Ukrainian high school, age around 14, were shot at that time, merely for the reason that they were wearing insignia of the state school in their lapels.

Mr. MCTIGUE. How many were shot?

Mr. ZOZULYA. Four hundred.

At least 5,000 people had been executed within a period of 3 days at that time. I have a document which proves that even one of the Bolshevik agents who was in the Ukraine at that time states in his memoirs that he was almost shot because he was caught with a Ukrainian document on him, which he naturally had to have in order to act as agent. His name is V. Zatonsky and his memoirs were published by the Ukrainian Communist newspaper in New York, the Ukrainian Daily News.

I was also ordered to be shot, but was saved by a miracle because in one of my pockets I had a piece of paper with the personal signature of Lenin on it. I also had a pass on me issued by the Soviet Ukrainian Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers in Kharkov.

This is a quotation from Zatonsky, of course.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Who was Zatonsky?

Mr. ZOZULYA. He was one of the Communists; he was a Communist agent within the city of Kiev and later on during the Communist regime he was the secretary of education for Ukraine.

Shall I continue with that quotation from Zatonsky?

Mr. FEIGHAN. Yes, please.

Mr. ZOZULYA. Quotation from Zatonsky continued:

When we entered the city it was full of blood and corpses everywhere. Everyone was executed who had the slightest relationship to the Central Rada straight off the streets, and that is when they almost shot me, too.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Just to make the record clear, what you have been reading comes from a Communist source?

Mr. ZOZULYA. Yes; it was published by the Ukrainian Communist newspaper, the Ukrainian Daily News, in New York City.

Mr. MCTIGUE. What was the date?

Mr. ZOZULYA. It just says, "Price 15 cents, page 60," but it does not say what year of that newspaper. The footnote says:

This quotation was taken from the Ukrainian Daily News, New York. Price 15 cents, page 60.

Mr. FEIGHAN. It does not give the date?

Mr. ZOZULYA. It does not give the date, but this particular quotation of the New York newspaper is contained in a book published in Prague in 1927. The quotation comes from a book by a Ukrainian independence leader, M. Shapoval, who visited in New York in 1928, and most probably the quotation from that Communist newspaper is from the year 1928.

Mr. FEIGHAN. What is the name of that book?

Mr. ZOZULYA. The Great Revolution and the Ukrainian Program of Liberation.

Mr. FEIGHAN. That is written in the Ukrainian language?

Mr. ZOZULYA. In the Ukrainian language and published in Prague in 1928.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Zozulya, did the Ukrainian nation receive any help from the Western Powers in its fight against the Bolsheviks and did the Ukrainian Government ask for help, when, and from what other nations?

Mr. ZOZULYA. The Ukrainian Government asked for help of the Western Powers, but did not get any. The Ukraine Government had dispatched many diplomatic missions to the western powers and, in particular, to Paris where the Peace Conference was at that time in session, but no aid was received.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Did the western powers give military assistance to any military group fighting the Bolsheviks; and if so, which ones?

Mr. ZOZULYA. Yes; the western powers gave military aid to the White Russian generals, such as Denikin and Wrangel. The aim of those generals was the restoration of the former czarist empire.

Such an oddity happened that when the Denikin army encountered the Ukrainian independence army both of them were engaged in war against the Bolsheviks, yet they engaged in fighting each other.

Mr. FEIGHAN. This gave the Communists a chance to win by dividing the Ukrainian Army, did it not?

Mr. ZOZULYA. That is right. This was of great help to the Bolsheviks because the forces fighting against them were now divided and fighting each other.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Zozulya, going back to your answer in which you stated that you hid in 1918 in an anatomy laboratory, what do you mean by that?

Mr. ZOZULYA. Yes; in the laboratory of anatomy, the mortuary, the morgue.

Mr. MCTIGUE. In your opinion, Mr. Zozulya, are the political and military tactics of the Kremlin today the same as they used to destroy the independent Ukrainian nation? Is there any difference at all?

Mr. ZOZULYA. There are absolutely no differences in present-day military and political tactics as practiced by the Kremlin. Politically, they proclaim beautiful slogans, but in practice it is just the opposite. Everywhere they wish to work they send out a fifth column first.

I am absolutely convinced that at least 50 percent of the cause of the defeat of the Ukrainian Independent Republic was the Bolshevik fifth column.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Zozulya, what in your opinion are the hopes and aspirations of the Ukrainian people today?

Mr. ZOZULYA. The main desire of the Ukrainian people is for their own independent state, and this goes without difference whether they are behind the Iron Curtain or whether they are living abroad.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you have any further questions?

Mr. McTIGUE. I have no further questions.

Mr. FEIGHAN. The committee wishes to express its deep appreciation for your testimony, Mr. Zozulya. You have made a great contribution to the committee in its efforts to uncover the true facts about the manner and the methods used by the Russian Communists to conquer once free and independent nations.

Mr. McTIGUE. It is my understanding that the witness has prepared a statement for the committee which goes into a great deal more detail on the various phases of his testimony this morning.

I hand you a statement, Mr. Zozulya, which I understand that you prepared for the committee and ask you if you can identify it as being your statement?

Mr. ZOZULYA. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. This is a copy of the original statement which you executed; is that correct?

Mr. ZOZULYA. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. It is in English?

Mr. ZOZULYA. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. This is a correct translation from Ukraine into English?

Mr. ZOZULYA. That is right.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the statement executed by Mr. Zozulya be marked for identification and made a part of the committee record as "New York Exhibit NR 22?"

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection it is so ordered.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Counsel, will you call the next witness, please?

Mr. McTIGUE. The next witness is Mr. Mykola Lebed.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you state your name, please?

Mr. LEBED. Mykola Lebed.

TESTIMONY OF MYKOLA LEBED, THROUGH THE INTERPRETER, ROMAN OLESNICKI

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you raise your right hand and take this oath? Do you solemnly swear that you will tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LEBED. I do.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Counsel, proceed, please.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where are you residing at the present time, Mr. Lebed?

Mr. LEBED. 353 Fort Washington Avenue, New York City.

Mr. McTIGUE. In what capacity are you employed at the present time?

Mr. LEBED. Free-lance journalist.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you born, Mr. Lebed?

Mr. LEBED. In the Ukraine.

Mr. McTIGUE. When?

Mr. LEBED. 23d of November 1910.

Mr. McTIGUE. In what city or village in the Ukraine?

Mr. LEBED. In the village of Strilyska, Ukraine.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you leave the Ukraine, Mr. Lebed?

Mr. LEBED. In 1944.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you reside then in the Ukraine from the time you were born in 1910 until you left in 1944?

Mr. LEBED. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Can you tell us anything, Mr. Lebed, regarding the resistance movement in the Ukraine, starting from the time you were old enough to observe, take part in, if you did take part in it?

Mr. LEBED. Yes, I took part in the Ukrainian liberation movement.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you first become a part of the Ukrainian resistance movement, and tell us what the name of that movement was or is?

Mr. LEBED. It was at first called the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

Mr. McTIGUE. When was it organized?

Mr. LEBED. In 1928 was the year of its organization. In particular during World War II the Ukrainian resistance and liberation movement had a wide development.

Mr. McTIGUE. What was the name of the movement, what was it called?

Mr. LEBED. The name of the movement as it developed in World War II was the Ukrainian Insurgent Army or abbreviated to the letters UPA. Finally, this movement emanated from the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council, which is abbreviated with the letters UHVR.

I am a member of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council and serve as its foreign representative, dispatched by that council to represent it in the free world.

Mr. McTIGUE. The Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council then is still in existence; is that correct?

Mr. LEBED. Yes, it still in existence and it operates on the territory of Ukraine.

Mr. McTIGUE. Are you in communication with this movement regularly, you and other representatives in the free world?

Mr. LEBED. I myself and other representatives were and still are in contact with the council in the Ukraine to the extent existing conditions permit.

Mr. McTIGUE. While you were a member of the Ukrainian Liberation Council and while you were in the Ukraine, what were the objectives of the council?

Mr. LEBED. World War II found the Ukrainian people under circumstances of a double occupation: 1, of 2 imperialist powers, that is Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia.

Mr. McTIGUE. Tell us first how did the Russians react to these objectives?

Mr. LEBED. The aim of the Russian Bolsheviks is to completely eradicate and destroy any traces of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and of the Ukrainian underground liberation movement.

And especially since 1944 and up to this day the NKVD as an arm of the Kremlin, is employing all possible means, including the most inhuman, to liquidate the Ukrainian liberation movement.

Mr. McTIGUE. The Ukrainian resistance movement today is an effective and powerful resistance organization in your opinion?

Mr. LEBED. It is no longer as powerful as it was up to the year 1949. The reason for it is that the fight has been so long and drawn out over many years, and in particular because of the intensity of the fight after the termination of World War II.

Relying exclusively on their own power and the aid only of the Ukrainian people, the Ukrainian liberation movement had to change its tactics following 1949.

Mr. McTIGUE. Let's stop for the moment.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. McTIGUE. Proceed, Mr. Lebed.

Mr. LEBED. In order to adjust itself to existing circumstances, the change of tactics occurred following 1949.

I only wish to make the statement that the Ukrainian resistance movement and the Ukrainian people who support it will not cease in their struggle as long as and until the Ukrainian people achieve their complete freedom and full independence.

Mr. McTIGUE. In your previous testimony, Mr. Lebed, you mentioned the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Did this army actually engage in open conflict with the Communists?

Mr. LEBED. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army engaged in direct combat with the Bolshevik armed forces.

Mr. McTIGUE. During what period or during what years?

Mr. LEBED. From 1941 until this day.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did the Ukrainian Insurgent Army also engage in open conflict with the Nazis?

Mr. LEBED. Yes. From 1942 until 1944 the Ukrainian Insurgent Army engaged in open combat against Nazi troops. Correction: 1942 was the beginning of the armed struggle against the Bolsheviks, and not 1941.

Mr. McTIGUE. What would you estimate the maximum strength of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was when it was at its peak, at the time it was engaged in open conflict with the Communists?

Mr. LEBED. According to my own knowledge, when these forces were widely dispersed over a large area, I estimate that the actual combat strength of the Ukrainian insurgent army at its peak was anywhere between 20,000 and 30,000 men.

In addition there is the Ukrainian underground which is not composed of combat troops but the membership of this Ukrainian underground is in the tens of thousands, and the Ukrainian population aiding and sympathizing with the movement can be counted in the millions.

Mr. McTIGUE. Two further questions. There is an underground in the Ukraine today which is operating in resisting the Communists; is that right?

Mr. LEBED. Yes; there exists an underground in the Ukraine today resisting the Communists, which is politically organized and politically directed by the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is the Ukrainian insurgent army now a part of the underground movement or does it have an independent status?

Mr. LEBED. It is difficult to give a direct answer to this question, but it is in all likelihood part of the general Ukrainian underground.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Lebed, how does the Kremlin feel today about the Ukrainian insurgent army forces and what evidence do you have upon which you base your opinion of the feeling by the Kremlin?

Mr. LEBED. The Kremlin as of today calls the Ukrainian underground and resistance movement the Ukrainian bourgeoisie. The Kremlin also states that the Ukrainian resistance movement has sold out to Wall Street and the Vatican and is acting as their respective agency.

I have numerous documents evidencing the attitude of the Kremlin toward the Ukrainian resistance movement. Among them I wish to stress the statement made by Kirichenko, the secretary of the central committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party which he made at the 18th party congress, in which he stated officially that the Ukrainian underground movement and the Ukrainian liberation movement existed. This was officially admitted by him.

I also wish to make reference to an official communique of the Tass Agency on the subject of intercepting and sentencing to death of a member of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council, Vasyl Okhrymovich, which was given by the press about 4 months ago, on May 19, 1954.

I wish to emphasize here that unfortunately the free press of the Western World has not comprehended the real importance of the contents of the official Tass communique and did not emphasize that the member of the Ukrainian Liberation Council, Vasyl Okhrymovich, was one of those who in the year 1950 returned to the Ukraine from Germany, from the American Zone in Germany in order to take part in the fight of liberation on Ukrainian territory.

Mr. FEIGHAN. When was the 18th congress held?

Mr. LEBED. This was sometime this year, in 1954.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Lebed, what in your opinion is the major strategy of the Kremlin today with respect to the Ukraine and what is some of the evidence upon which you base your judgment?

Mr. LEBED. In my opinion the Kremlin wishes to win the psychological war against the Western World by drawing the Ukrainian people into a voluntary partnership on the side of Communist Russia.

It is my understanding that the Kremlin, in evaluating the attitude of the Western World and in particular of the United States toward the non-Russian nations subjugated in the U. S. S. R. in particular, wishes to engage the Ukrainian people in cooperation and also in liability for all the crimes committed by the Kremlin.

In this struggle the Ukrainian people as heretofore have to rely exclusively upon their own resources.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Lebed, is not the Kremlin trying to make the Ukraine a junior partner in its worldwide Communist conspiracy for world domination?

Mr. LEBED. That was my statement, that the Kremlin wishes to make the Ukrainians their junior partner. They make direct promises

that they are going to share the power with the Ukraine and the price they ask is that the Ukrainian people will recognize the present regime and will join in full collaboration with it.

Mr. FEIGHAN. How do you evaluate the celebration on the Treaty of Pereyaslav with reference to this new tactic by the Kremlin to try to consolidate its empire?

Mr. LEBED. The official celebration of the 300th anniversary of the Treaty of Pereyaslav I consider as one of the steps in the plans of the Kremlin, as one of the means of welding the captive people to an alien Russian rule and in the strengthening of the present Russian Empire.

In particular I wish to recall that these very same Bolsheviks in the years between 1920 and 1925 officially stated that the Treaty of Pereyaslav was an act of Czarist aggression against the Ukraine. Now there is a reversal and in the last few years, and in particular during this current year they have entirely changed their attitude and now they maintain that this was an act of perpetual friendship between the two nations.

I wish to emphasize that this celebration of the 300th anniversary of the Treaty of Pereyaslav is compulsory and imposed upon the Ukraine. The Kremlin wishes to use this device to make the Ukrainian people and the present Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic the junior partner with the Russian Soviet Republic.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Did not the Kremlin issue decrees making it mandatory for all the captive non-Russian nations within the U. S. S. R. to participate in this so-called commemorative ceremony?

Mr. LEBED. Yes; as far as I know all the nations of the Soviet Union were ordered to celebrate the 300th anniversary of Pereyaslav. But, moreover, even our neighbor, Poland, which had been defeated prior to the Treaty of Pereyaslav 300 years ago, was compelled to celebrate this anniversary of its own defeat in the city of Warsaw.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Lebed, in the commemorative ceremonies decreed by the Kremlin with reference to the Pereyaslav Treaty, do the Russians recognize the desire of the Ukrainians for national independence and in what manner?

Mr. LEBED. Yes; they do recognize that there is among the Ukrainian people a strong desire and unbending tendency toward national independence but any concession along this line is for the price of collaborating with the so-called older brother; that is with the Russian.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Lebed, what is your opinion of the significance of the so-called transfer by the Kremlin of the Crimea to the Ukraine, particularly when we realize that the Russian Communists committed the crime of genocide in the Crimea by deporting the entire population to the Ural Mountains in the dead of winter.

Mr. LEBED. In my opinion the transfer of the Crimea to Ukraine at this moment signifies the preparations by the Kremlin for the next war. The geographical and strategic position of the Crimean Peninsula is within the Ukraine. I believe that in the next war for which the Kremlin is preparing they wish to place the defense of the Crimea in the hands and responsibility of the Ukrainian people.

I also believe that the Kremlin desires to throw a bone of contention between the Ukrainian people and the other subjugated non-Russian people of the U. S. S. R., the Tartars, the Crimean Tartars included, whom the Kremlin has ruthlessly exterminated.

However, I believe that any problem of this sort could be very amicably settled between a free Ukrainian people and an independent Ukrainian State and the other nations now subjugated within the Soviet Union.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Lebed, the Ukraine has never sought and now does not seek the territory of any other nation; is that not correct?

Mr. LEBED. The Ukraine has never desired and does not now desire and will not desire or conquer any territories of other nations.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you consider this new Kremlin tactic toward the Ukraine to be dangerous to the free world?

Mr. LEBED. I consider it most dangerous for the free world as of the present time, and I believe that it is now high time for the free world to take a firm position in particular as to the problem of the non-Russian nations subjugated within the Soviet Union.

Mr. FEIGHAN. In your opinion, Mr. Lebed, what can the free world, particularly the United States, do to offset these latest plans of the Kremlin?

Mr. LEBED. First of all, I believe that the free world and the United States in particular should declare the principle that the American people and the American Government, along with all the other nations of the world, recognize the right on their own territory for nations following free, democratic elections to erect their own states.

I further believe that the United States Government should declare unequivocally that it is against any kind of colonialism as well as against the present Red Russian Bolshevik imperialism. And it is my request that the American people and Government make an appeal to the many nations subjugated at the present time, that they be given hope and at least that they be given moral support in their fight for independence and liberation.

Mr. FEIGHAN. In other words, you believe that the United States should stand by its traditional policy of support for national self-determination of all nations, large and small.

Mr. LEBED. That is right. Also, I do not believe that the world can continue to exist divided into 2 halves: 1 free and 1 enslaved.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Lebed, are you familiar with the Kersten amendment which was authorized, and put through Congress by the chairman of our committee, Congressman Charles J. Kersten, of Wisconsin?

Mr. LEBED. I do not understand your question.

Mr. FEIGHAN. I am referring to the Kersten amendment which provides authority for the President of the United States to establish military units made up of nationals of the enslaved nations to be organized under their own flag and within the NATO organization.

Mr. LEBED. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. What do you think of setting up and establishing such national military units?

Mr. LEBED. When I first got acquainted with that document my attitude on it was positive, and I think this is one of the correct steps to be taken on the road leading to aid the subjugated nations of the U. S. S. R., including the Ukraine.

Mr. FEIGHAN. What do you think would be the effect upon the peoples in the enslaved, captive nations of this establishment of national military units?

Mr. LEBED. That all depends upon the principles under which such armed units would be operating. If they were created upon the un-

derlying principle of liberation of nations subjugated by present-day Bolshevik imperialism and the granting to each nation the right to self-determination, then in that event it would be very influential upon the people inside these subjugated nations.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Lebed, in the event that the Kremlin chose to engage in all-out war, what effect do you think the establishment of these national military units would have upon the peoples in the enslaved, captive countries?

Mr. LEBED. The effect would be absolutely positive, on condition that simultaneously principles of liberation and self-determination for nations would be officially declared.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you feel that the establishment of these national military units would be a deterrent to the Kremlin so that they would be less likely to engage in all-out war?

Mr. LEBED. I do not think that this would be sufficient reason to deter the Kremlin from waging total war because it is my belief that the Kremlin has long ago planned for such war. The Kremlin has in its plans foreseen the possibility of the existence of such national units set up against it and for the eventuality of the next war.

That is why the tactics of is Ukrainian policy to go the way they go because they take into consideration the possibility of setting up such independent forces.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Counsel, have you anything further?

Mr. McTIGUE. I have 2 or 3 more questions, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to clarify the record in one respect. You testified, Mr. Lebed, that the Ukrainian insurgent army was a fighting military unit during the period from 1942 until 1949.

Mr. LEBED. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And that this army engaged the Communists as well as the Nazis in open conflict.

Mr. LEBED. That is right.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now, after 1949, did you testify that this army went underground?

Mr. LEBED. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. You also testified, I believe, Mr. Lebed, that you left the Ukraine in 1944; is that correct?

Mr. LEBED. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where did you go?

Mr. LEBED. I went abroad on orders of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council and in particular the chief of its armed forces, the now deceased General Chuprynka. The task which I was given was to go abroad and eventually to the United States in order to seek aid for the Ukrainian insurgent forces.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you come to the United States, Mr. Lebed?

Mr. LEBED. In October 1949.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you emigrate here under the Displaced Persons Act?

Mr. LEBED. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman, but it is my understanding that Mr. Lebed has executed a statement which he wishes to have made a part of the committee record. It covers a great many more details than he was able to cover in his testimony in the allotted time.

I ask you, Mr. Lebed, if this is the statement executed by you and the statement which you desire to have made a part of the committee's proceedings?

Mr. LEBED. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. And is this statement signed by you?

Mr. LEBED. Not yet.

Mr. McTIGUE. Will you sign it?

Mr. LEBED. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that this be marked for identification, the statement executed by Mr. Lebed, and entered into the committee record as "New York exhibit NR 23."

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection it is so ordered.

Mr. McTIGUE. Have you any further documents that you wish to present to the committee?

Mr. LEBED. Yes. I wish to submit for study by the committee a book published this year, *The Ukrainian Insurgent Army in Fight for Freedom*, published in New York in 1954, and containing appeals by publicists of the Ukrainian underground movement, in particular of Maj. Petro Poltava, of the Ukrainian insurgent army, and O. Hornovy.

I also wish to emphasize that this book contains an introduction by the honorable chairman of this subcommittee, Hon. Michael Feighan, and the remarks of Senator Green, of Rhode Island.

Mr. FEIGHAN. I might also say that it contains a statement by Hon. Irving M. Ives, Senator from New York, as well as Senator Green, who is a member of the Foreign Relations Committee.

Mr. LEBED. That is right.

Mr. FEIGHAN. They both very strongly favor the cause of a free and independent Ukraine.

Mr. McTIGUE. I think, Mr. Chairman, that this book, entitled, "*The Ukrainian Insurgent Army in Fight for Freedom*," by a group of Ukrainian authors which are identified on the flysheet, should be incorporated by reference into the committee records. Since the book itself is available, may I also suggest that the book be marked for identification and admitted as "New York Exhibit NR 24."

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection it will be so ordered.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I also suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the introduction to this book be made a part of the transcript, be copied into the record.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection it will be so ordered.

(The introduction to the book referred to, being that of Hon. Michael A. Feighan, reads as follows:)

In the perilous days in which we live, days in which the very survival of our way of life hangs in a delicate balance, we have been compelled to look carefully at the world arena to better know our friends and to clearly understand and identify the enemy. In the course of such an appraisal it would be foolhardy to overlook any reservoir of friendship we have in any quarter of the globe. Any special friends we might have, such as those who have demonstrated their dedication to the cause of human freedom, national sovereignty, and individual dignity, must be clearly recognized and singled out for all the extra support we can afford to give them. If we do anything less than this we will be playing lightly and dangerously with the ultimate survival of the United States.

Such an appraisal of necessity requires us to examine and fully understand the resistance efforts of the enslaved nations and people of the Russian-Communist empire. All too frequently we are subjected to stories and fables which seek to discredit the efforts of these captive nations and people to throw off the historic chains of Muscovite tyranny. More recently we have been

subjected to the Russian-Communist line which holds that there has been created a homo Sovieticus, and even a Soviet civilization, the subtle purpose of which is to cause us to believe that resistance within the Communist empire to the imperialist Muscovites has ended. Were we to be taken in by this line we would fail to identify our most dependable friends and would thus fail to stand by them.

Ukrainian Insurgent Army in Fight for Freedom, is one of the most important contributions to American understanding of the meaning and significance of resistance movements in the form of national liberation struggles now taking place within the empire of Moscow. It deserves a careful reading by every patriotic American who is dedicated to the same moral and political principles of justice, freedom, and the right of national sovereignty which are expressed in the American Declaration of Independence. The essays and addresses set forth in this work portray a stubborn and dedicated struggle for those same moral and political principles which cannot be obscured by moonshine internationalism, whether it is distilled in Moscow or in the dens of the Russia-first circles in the United States. They relate one story, common and basic to both the United States and the Ukrainian nation—the epic of patriotism, enlightened nationalism, impassioned love of God and native country.

Many Members of Congress who are accustomed to dealing with facts and reality understand with feeling and conviction the historic aspirations of the Ukrainian nation for genuine sovereignty which can come only with national independence and self-government. The number of understanding officials in the Government of the United States is growing day by day and it is hoped that this book will increase their understanding as well as their numbers. This story of the heroic struggles of the Ukrainian nation is truly representative of the aspirations of every other non-Russian nation held captive in the Soviet Union—Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, White Ruthenia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Cossackia, Moslem Turkestan and including the Siberyaks (Russian separatists in Moscow dominated Asia).

Since the end of World War II circumstances bearing a direct relationship to our survival have caused the American people to become better acquainted with the despotic captivity of Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Rumania, East Germany, Czechia, Bulgaria, and Albania. These are the once free and sovereign nations which have been added to the Moscovite empire during and since the end of World War II. It is a little known fact that the fate of these nations is precisely the same as that which Moscow visited upon the 15 non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union following World War I. The American people must come to understand that the only difference between the fate of these Moscovite enslaved nations is a difference of slightly more than 25 years. Unfortunately, some of the self-proclaimed experts of our day have coined the word "satellites," a term which they apply only to the nations enslaved by Moscow since World War II. This completely, if not purposely, neglects the cause of the other non-Russian nations enslaved by Moscow following World War I.

The message contained in this book is more than anything else the pleading of a once free and sovereign nation for recognition by advocates of freedom everywhere in the world. Indeed, it sets forth an eloquent plea on behalf of all the once free and sovereign non-Russian nations who are now bound by the historic Moscovite chains of slavery. It is a refreshing and stimulating account of the deep and abiding faith of enlightened nationalism which is the mortal enemy of Russian communism. For those who have been misled by reading the devious works of the Marxist view or traditional Russian imperialism it may come as a shocking revelation. It may be said with certainty that it will cause a new fury within the multicolored camp of Marxists, Russia Firsters, and the advocates of the morally bankrupt policy of containment. The validity of the story told in Ukrainian Insurgent Army in Fight for Freedom can be accurately measured by the attacks made upon it by this multicolored camp of despotic reactionaries and the reception given to it by the controlled elements of the literary sections of the free press.

Mr. LEBED. I also wish to submit two more documents which have been published by the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council. One is on the subject of the Ukrainian attitudes toward a liberation policy, and the other is on the current international situation.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that these documents be marked for identification? The first one is entitled "The Policy

of Liberation as a Prerequisite for the Preservation of the Free World—Aims, Formulation, and Method of Implementation—by the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council, Mikola Lebed, Secretary General.” May that be entered as New York exhibit NR 25?

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McTIGUE. And the document entitled “A View of the Current International Situation and the Political Aspects of the Liberation Policy, by the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council, Mikola Lebed, Secretary General, Dated April 1953,” be entered as New York exhibit NR 26.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Lebed, on behalf of the subcommittee and the full committee, we wish to express our appreciation for the very fine contribution that you have made to our committee’s work to uncover the objectives and technique of the Russian Communists. Thank you.

Mr. LEBED. I thank you, too, for an opportunity to be able to present the position of the Ukrainian liberation movement.

Mr. FEIGHAN. The subcommittee will take a 5-minute recess after which sworn statements will be received.

(At 12:20 p. m. a short recess was taken.)

AFTER RECESS

Mr. FEIGHAN. The subcommittee will come to order.

The Chair wishes to state that the subcommittee would like to hear the testimony of all these good people who have come forward to give eyewitness statements on Communist aggression, the tyranny of life under communism, Communist intentions toward all free people and, more than anything else, to help us to better understand that there is no relation whatsoever between Communist theory and actual life in a Communist dictatorship.

Time does not permit us to hear all these fine people, but we have arranged to have their written statements sworn to by them and presented for the record. These statements will have extreme value and the committee appreciates the contribution of each and every one.

Mr. Counsel, would you call the first witness, please?

Mr. McTIGUE. Will you state your name for the record, please?

Mr. STACHIW. My name is Matthew Stachiw—S-t-a-c-h-i-w.

TESTIMONY OF MATTHEW STACHIW

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you stand, please? Do you solemnly swear that the statement you will give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. STACHIW. I do.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where are you residing at the present time?

Mr. STACHIW. Now I am editor of a Ukrainian newspaper, a press organ of the Ukrainian fraternal organization, under the name of the Ukrainian Working Men’s Association, in Scranton, Pa.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you born in the Ukraine?

Mr. STACHIW. I was.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where and when?

Mr. STACHIW. November 30, 1895, in the Ukraine. The name of my town I would not like to be published.

Mr. McTIGUE. That is quite all right. We won’t mention the town in which you were born. The newspaper of which you are editor in

chief is one of the largest Ukrainian weekly newspapers in the United States today; is that correct?

Mr. STACHIW. That is correct. It has existed 43 years in the United States and always did advocate the American way of life, and altogether the rights of the native land of the members of this organization; that means of the Ukrainian people.

Mr. McTIGUE. How large a circulation has this newspaper?

Mr. STACHIW. It is now between 7,000 or 8,000.

Mr. McTIGUE. And it is a weekly publication?

Mr. STACHIW. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you emigrate to the United States?

Mr. STACHIW. In 1949.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you come here under the Displaced Persons Act?

Mr. STACHIW. That is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. I understand, Mr. Chairman, the Dr. Stachiw has prepared a statement concerning Communist aggression in the Ukraine. The statement is entitled, "The Military Aggression of Soviet Russia Against the Ukrainian National Republic in the Light of Diplomatic Documents and International Law." The subtitle is, "The 37-Year War of Soviet Russia Against Ukraine."

May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that this statement, executed by Dr. Stachiw be marked for identification and admitted into the committee's record as New York exhibit NR 27?

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Thank you very much, Doctor.

Mr. McTIGUE. The next witness, Mr. Chairman, is Mr. Ivan Samijlenko.

Mr. Samijlenko. Ivan Samijlenko.

TESTIMONY OF IVAN SAMIJLENKO, THROUGH THE INTERPRETER, ROMAN OLESNICKI

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you raise your right hand, please? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SAMIJLENKO. Yes, I do.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where are you presently residing?

Mr. SAMIJLENKO. 100 East 1st Street, New York City.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you born?

Mr. SAMIJLENKO. I was born in Ukraine, Province of Lubny.

Mr. McTIGUE. What year?

Mr. SAMIJLENKO. 1912.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you emigrate to the United States?

Mr. SAMIJLENKO. In 1949.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you emigrate to the United States under the Displaced Persons Act?

Mr. SAMIJLENKO. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. In what capacity are you employed at the present time?

Mr. SAMIJLENKO. Now I am working in a factory as a machinist.

Mr. McTIGUE. In New York City?

Mr. SAMIJLENKO. New York City, yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, the witness has prepared a statement entitled "Repression and Liquidation in the National-State and Eco-

nomical Relationship of the Leading Peasants in Ukraine." May I suggest that this statement be marked for identification and admitted into the record as New York exhibit NR 28?

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, this will be so ordered.

The next witness, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. McTIGUE. Ivan Wowchuk.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you state your name, please?

Mr. WOWCHUK. Ivan Wowchuk.

**TESTIMONY OF IVAN WOWCHUK, THROUGH THE INTERPRETER,
ROMAN OLESNICKI**

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you raise your right hand? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you will give will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WOWCHUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Counsel.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where are you presently residing?

Mr. WOWCHUK. 230 East 4th Street, New York City.

Mr. McTIGUE. In what capacity are you presently employed?

Mr. WOWCHUK. Editor of a Ukrainian newspaper, and the chairman of the Four Freedoms for the Ukraine Association.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you born, Professor?

Mr. WOWCHUK. July 15, 1900, in Kholm, Ukraine.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you emigrate to the United States?

Mr. WOWCHUK. 1950, February 1.

Mr. McTIGUE. Under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948?

Mr. WOWCHUK. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you live most of your life in the Ukraine?

Mr. WOWCHUK. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you leave the Ukraine?

Mr. WOWCHUK. In 1944 I left the Ukraine.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you teach at one of the universities in the Ukraine, Professor?

Mr. WOWCHUK. Yes; agricultural chemistry in the city of Kharkov.

Mr. McTIGUE. What was the name of the school or the university?

Mr. WOWCHUK. The Kharkov Machine Construction Institute, and the subject was agricultural chemistry.

Mr. McTIGUE. You previously testified, Professor, that you were the president of the organization for the defense of the four freedoms of the Ukraine; is that correct?

Mr. WOWCHUK. That is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is that a national Ukrainian organization in the United States?

Mr. WOWCHUK. It is an organization of Ukrainians in the United States.

Mr. McTIGUE. Does it have as its objectives the return of the four freedoms in the Ukraine?

Mr. WOWCHUK. The fight against communism and the application of the doctrine of the four freedoms to the Ukraine.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, Professor Wowchuk has prepared a statement for submission to the committee entitled, "Russification Policy of the Bolsheviks in Ukraine." May I suggest, Mr. Chairman,

that this be marked for identification and admitted as New York exhibit NR 29?

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Thank you very much, Mr. Wowchuk. The next witness, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. McTIGUE. Peter L. Petrus. Mr. Chairman, this witness who is appearing before us now has asked that his true name not be revealed because of relatives he has in the Ukraine and because he fears that any testimony which might be given by him under his correct name might bring forth reprisals against his relatives now behind the Iron Curtain. As a consequence, Mr. Chairman, he is appearing under the name of Peter L. Petrus. His address is New York City. However, we have the correct name of the witness in our files.

**TESTIMONY OF PETER L. PETRUS, THROUGH THE INTERPRETER,
ROMAN OLESNICKI**

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you stand, Mr. Witness? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. PETRUS. I do.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were born in the Ukraine; is that correct, Mr. Petrus?

Mr. PETRUS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. In what year?

Mr. PETRUS. December 21, 1895.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you leave the Ukraine?

Mr. PETRUS. In 1943.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were in the Ukraine during the period of the Communist aggression against the Ukraine?

Mr. PETRUS. From 1918 to 1927 I resided in the Ukraine.

Mr. McTIGUE. During the time you lived in the Ukraine, you were an eyewitness to the famine which the people under the Communist regime suffered?

Mr. PETRUS. Yes; I was a witness of the famine, both in the Ukraine and in the Kuban region.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you also were a witness, Mr. Petrus, to the genocide which was inflicted upon the Ukraine by the Communists?

Mr. PETRUS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, this witness has prepared a statement and I will ask that it be marked for identification and admitted as "New York Exhibit NR 30." The subject of the statement covers the famine in the Ukraine as well as the genocide against the once free, independent Ukraine nation.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection it is so ordered.

Thank you, Mr. Witness.

Now the next witness, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. McTIGUE. Miss Katherina Dniprova. Mr. Chairman, Miss Dniprova has executed a statement for the committee with reference to student organization and education under the Communists in the Ukraine. However, this young lady has relatives in the Ukraine and as a consequence is afraid to submit this statement under her correct name because of possible reprisals against her relatives behind the Iron Curtain.

Is that correct, Miss Dniprova?

Miss DNIPROVA. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. As a consequence, the name that the witness is using here today is not her correct name. However, we have the correct name of the witness in the committee files. She will submit her statement under the name of Miss Katherina Dniprova.

**TESTIMONY OF MISS KATHERINA DNIPROVA, THROUGH THE
INTERPRETER, ROMAN OLESNICKI**

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you stand please and raise your right hand? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss DNIPROVA. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Miss Dniprova, you are a resident of New York City; is that correct?

Miss DNIPROVA. Yes, I live in New York City.

Mr. McTIGUE. In what capacity are you employed?

Miss DNIPROVA. I work for the Ukrainian Congress Committee.

Mr. McTIGUE. You have been making a study of genocide in the Ukraine; is that one of your duties?

Miss DNIPROVA. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you born?

Miss DNIPROVA. I was born in the Ukraine in 1925.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you leave the Ukraine?

Miss DNIPROVA. I left the Ukraine in June 1944.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you emigrate to the United States?

Miss DNIPROVA. I came to the United States on the 26th of July 1950.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were in the Ukraine during the period of Communist occupation of the Ukraine?

Miss DNIPROVA. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And as such you were an eyewitness to the persecution of religion?

Miss DNIPROVA. Yes, because my father was a priest in the Autocephal Church in the Ukraine, and he was executed by the NKVD.

Mr. McTIGUE. Your father was executed?

Miss DNIPROVA. Yes, and also my uncle was executed, in 1937.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were also a witness to the Communist persecution of the students and teachers and education in general in the Ukraine; is that correct?

Miss DNIPROVA. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, Miss Dniprova has submitted a statement, and I would like to ask that it be marked for identification and admitted as "New York Exhibit NR 31." This statement covers the persecution of religion in the Ukraine, the execution of her father, and the persecution of students and teachers in the Ukraine under the Communist occupation.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, that will be so ordered.

You have signed this?

Miss DNIPROVA. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Miss Dniprova, will you be good enough to execute this statement under the name which you have appeared here today rather than your correct name so that there will be no slight chance that

somebody at a later date might look at this statement which you have made to the committee and learn your true identity. So will you be good enough to eliminate your right name and sign under the name under which you have appeared here this morning?

(The statement referred to was marked "New York Exhibit NR 31" for identification.)

Mr. FEIGHAN. The next witness.

Mr. McTIGUE. Anthony Rychalsky.

**TESTIMONY OF ANTHONY RYCHALSKY, THROUGH THE
INTERPRETER, ROMAN OLESNICKI**

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. RYCHALSKY. I do.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Counsel.

Mr. McTIGUE. You are living at 90 Deacon Street, Bridgeport, Conn.; is that correct?

Mr. RYCHALSKY. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you born and when?

Mr. RYCHALSKY. In the city of Radomysl, Zhitomir Province, Ukraine, April 25, 1914.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you leave the Ukraine?

Mr. RYCHALSKY. 1943.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you emigrate to the United States?

Mr. RYCHALSKY. December 22, 1950.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you admitted under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948?

Mr. RYCHALSKY. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were in the Ukraine during the period of the Communist occupation of the Ukraine and as such were an eyewitness to the collectivization of the farms around the Khutir village of Hlukhiv?

Mr. RYCHALSKY. Yes. I suffered it on my own back.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, may I suggest that this statement which the witness has submitted be marked for identification and admitted into the record as New York exhibit NR 32.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection it will be so ordered.

Mr. McTIGUE. This statement covers the collectivization employed by the Communists in the village of Hlukhiv in the Ukraine. Will you be good enough to sign that, please?

Mr. RYCHALSKY. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. The next witness.

Mr. McTIGUE. The next witness, Mr. Chairman, is Anna Pachkovska.

**TESTIMONY OF DR. ANNA PACHKOVSKA, THROUGH THE
INTERPRETER, ROMAN OLESNICKI**

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you raise your right hand? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you will give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Dr. PACHKOVSKA. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where are you residing now?

Dr. PACHKOVSKA. Bayonne Hospital, Bayonne, N. J.

Mr. McTIGUE. Are you employed at the Bayonne Hospital in a medical capacity?

Dr. PACHKOVSKA. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Are you a resident there?

Dr. PACHKOVSKA. An intern.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you born?

Dr. PACHKOVSKA. In the Ukraine on December 23, 1912.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you leave the Ukraine, Doctor?

Dr. PACHKOVSKA. In 1942.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were in the Ukraine during the time of the occupation by the Communists and as such you were an eyewitness to the forced collectivization of the farms?

Dr. PACHKOVSKA. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And certain social reforms were imposed by the Communist regime upon the people of the Ukraine?

Dr. PACHKOVSKA. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you were also an eyewitness to this manmade famine in the Ukraine?

Dr. PACHKOVSKA. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Which was the product of the Communists?

Dr. PACHKOVSKA. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, the witness has executed a statement before the committee describing the process of farm collectivization in the Ukraine and given her own eyewitness testimony with reference to the forced famine of the Ukraine and has also told us in the statement of the social reforms imposed by the Communists on the people of the Ukraine.

I suggest that this statement be marked for identification and be admitted as exhibit NR 33.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection it is so ordered.

Thank you, Doctor.

Mr. McTIGUE. The next witness, Mr. Chairman, is Stanley Kozopas.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you state your name, please?

Mr. KOZOPAS. Stanley Kozopas.

TESTIMONY OF STANLEY KOZOPAS

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you raise your right hand? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. KOZOPAS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. You are residing, Mr. Kozopas, now at 516 East Fifth Street, New York City?

Mr. KOZOPAS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And in what capacity are you employed?

Mr. KOZOPAS. I am a cleaning contractor, window cleaning.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you born and when?

Mr. KOZOPAS. In the Ukraine, July 22, 1923.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you leave the Ukraine?

Mr. KOZOPAS. I left the Ukraine in 1945.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you emigrate to the United States?

Mr. KOZOPAS. On November 19, 1948.

Mr. McTIGUE. Under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948?

Mr. KOZOPAS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, this witness has executed two statements for the committee. The first statement which I ask be marked for identification and entered as committee's exhibit NR 34 is entitled, "Bolshevist Cruelties Toward Displaced Persons Captured in East Germany in 1944-45."

The second statement, which I ask be marked for identification and admitted as New York exhibit NR 34-A, is entitled, or describes certain tortures and cruelties and murders which this witness was an eyewitness to at the time he was in the Ukraine.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection it will be so ordered.

Mr. McTIGUE. The next witness is Mr. Fedir Steshenko.

**TESTIMONY OF FEDIR STESHENKO, THROUGH THE INTERPRETER,
ROMAN OLESNICKI**

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. STESHENKO. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. You are living at 328 East Sixth Street in New York City; is that correct?

Mr. STESHENKO. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you born and when?

Mr. STESHENKO. In the village of Horby, Poltava Province, Ukraine, on September 17, 1900.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you leave the Ukraine?

Mr. STESHENKO. 1943, March.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you emigrate to the United States?

Mr. STESHENKO. In 1951.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you admitted under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948?

Mr. STESHENKO. As a displaced person.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, the witness has presented a statement for the committee, entitled, "Assassination at Gubcheck 1920-21, Famine in Ukraine 1933." May I suggest that this statement which has been executed by Mr. Steshenko be marked for identification in the committee record as New York exhibit NR 35.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Thank you, Mr. Steshenko.

Mr. McTIGUE. The next witness is Teszczuk Tychon.

**TESTIMONY OF TESZCZUK TYCHON, THROUGH THE INTERPRETER,
ROMAN OLESNICKI**

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. TYCHON. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. You are residing at 843 North 24th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.; is that correct?

Mr. TYCHON. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And in what capacity are you presently employed?

Mr. TYCHON. Employed in a factory in Philadelphia.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you born and when?

Mr. TYCHON. In Semaky, Kamenets Province, Ukraine, 16th of June 1895.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. TYCHON. January 1944 I left the Ukraine.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you emigrate to the United States?

Mr. TYCHON. First of October 1949.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were admitted to the United States under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948?

Mr. TYCHON. Correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, the witness has executed a statement for submission to the committee containing an eyewitness account of some of the terrible brutalities and killings practiced upon the people of the Ukraine by the Communists. May I suggest that this be marked for identification and admitted into the committee record as New York exhibit NR 36?

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection it is so ordered.

The next witness.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Evhen Rudy.

**TESTIMONY OF EVHEN RUDY, THROUGH THE INTERPRETER,
ROMAN OLESNICKI**

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you state your name, please?

Mr. RUDY. Evhen Rudy.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you raise your right hand? Do you swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. RUDY. I do.

Mr. McTIGUE. You are living at 2510 Brown Street in Philadelphia, is that correct?

Mr. RUDY. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you born and when?

Mr. RUDY. Born in Hrabiv, Western Ukraine, in 1891.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you leave the Ukraine?

Mr. RUDY. In 1944.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you emigrate to the United States?

Mr. RUDY. 1950, March 13, as a displaced person.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were admitted under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, is that correct?

Mr. RUDY. Correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you at one time, Mr. Rudy, an inspector of the agricultural and technical schools of Sambir in western Ukraine?

Mr. RUDY. Yes, correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. Would this be on the same order of superintendent of schools in one of our larger cities?

Mr. RUDY. More like countywide.

Mr. McTIGUE. For how long a period did you hold this position?

Mr. RUDY. Two years, 1942 to 1944 included, and prior to that I was a teacher.

Mr. McTIGUE. The statement that you have executed and are submitting to the committee here today, Mr. Rudy, describes Commu-

nist aggression to which you were an eyewitness in the Ukraine, is that correct?

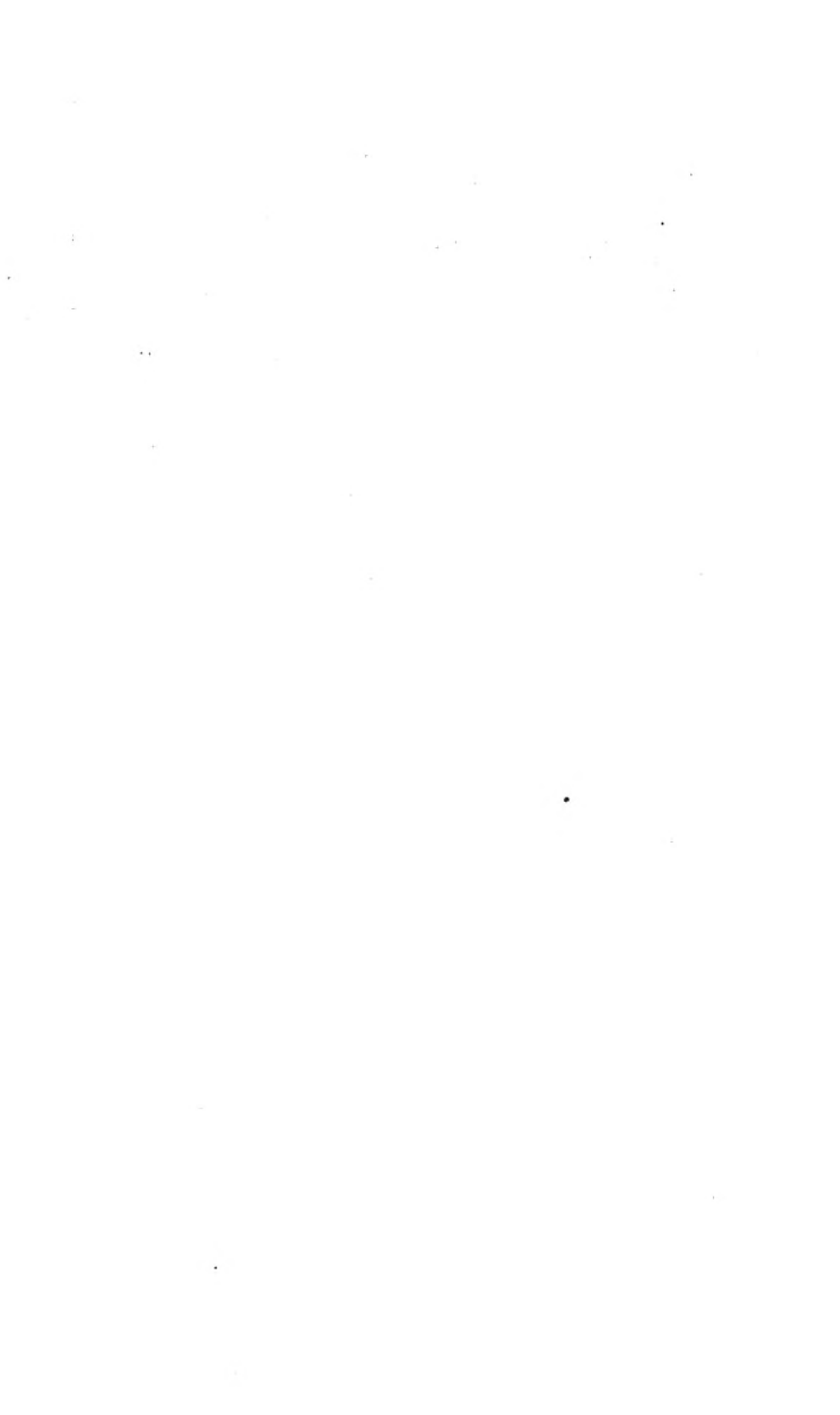
Mr. RUDY. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that this statement that has been given by Mr. Rudy be marked for identification and admitted into the record as "New York Exhibit NR 37."

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The subcommittee will now adjourn to meet tomorrow morning at 11 o'clock at the same place.

(Whereupon at 1:20 p. m. the committee adjourned to Wednesday, October 13, 1954, at 11 a. m.).



INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST TAKEOVER AND OCCUPATION OF THE NON-RUSSIAN NATIONS OF THE U. S. S. R.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1954

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE
TO INVESTIGATE COMMUNIST AGGRESSION
AND THE FORCED INCORPORATION
OF THE BALTIC STATES INTO THE U. S. S. R.,
New York, N. Y.

The committee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 11:10 a. m., in room 36, United States Courthouse, Foley Square, New York, N. Y., Hon. M. A. Feighan, member of the committee, presiding.

Present: Messrs. M. A. Feighan and T. M. Machrowicz.

Also present: James J. McTigue, committee counsel.

Mr. FEIGHAN. The subcommittee will come to order.

We are very happy today to have with us our very distinguished and able colleague from the State of Michigan, the Honorable Thaddeus Machrowicz.

Before we proceed, I would like to read a telegram from another able and distinguished member of the Kersten Select Committee To Investigate Communist Aggression, the Honorable Thomas J. Dodd, Member of Congress from Connecticut, who has telegraphed me as follows:

I am very sorry that I cannot attend the hearings of your subcommittee because of several engagements made weeks ago in my own district. Please be assured of my great interest in the work of your subcommittee, and I will continue to work to establish the independence and freedom of the people of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Armenia, Georgia, North Caucasia, Turkestan, and Idel-Ural.

THOMAS A. DODD, *Congressman.*

Today we will hear from witnesses who will present the case of Armenia and Georgia, two of the once independent and free nations which have been the victims of Communist aggression.

Mr. Counsel, will you call the first witness?

Mr. MCTIGUE. The first witness, Mr. Chairman, is Mr. Navassardian.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you state your full name, please?

Mr. NAVASSARDIAN. Beglar Navassardian.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you raise your right hand? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. NAVASSARDIAN. I so do swear.

TESTIMONY OF BEGLAR NAVASSARDIAN

Mr. McTIGUE. Where are you presently residing?

Mr. NAVASSARDIAN. Forest Hills, N. Y.

Mr. McTIGUE. Forest Hills, N. Y.?

Mr. NAVASSARDIAN. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. What is your present employment? In what capacity are you presently employed?

Mr. NAVASSARDIAN. I am the executive secretary of the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you born?

Mr. NAVASSARDIAN. In Alexanderpol, Armenia.

Mr. McTIGUE. When?

Mr. NAVASSARDIAN. February 22, 1918.

Mr. McTIGUE. I understand, Mr. Chairman, that the witness has a brief statement that he would like to present to the committee at this time, and if there is no objection, may I suggest that he be permitted to proceed?

Will you speak up as loudly as you can, please, so the gentlemen of the press can get it and for the people who are in the rear of the room? Just as loudly as you can. Unfortunately, we haven't got a public address system here today. We will have to talk as loudly as we can.

Mr. NAVASSARDIAN. Mr. Chairman, your committee is carrying out the vitally important task which, until you began, was long overdue, of investigating the Communist aggression of non-Russian nations.

As Armenia was one of the earliest victims of Communist infiltration, subversion, and aggression, a pattern which was to be followed so very often in later years, I would ask your indulgence, Mr. Chairman, to say a few words on the background of Armenia and the conditions under which the sovietization of this nation took place.

Arnold J. Toynbee, in his *The Murder of a Nation*, published at the end of World War I in New York, says:

The Armenians are perhaps the oldest established of the civilized races in Western Asia, and they are certainly the most vigorous at the present day.

Having come on the historic scene with Babylon and Assyria, Armenia retained its independence through the centuries and was the first nation to adopt Christianity as its state religion at the end of the third century of our era.

During the same period, Armenia developed its own alphabet, literature, architecture, music, and culture.

Toward the middle of the 19th century, the world gradually became aware of what was then referred to as the "Armenian question." This, in its fundamentals, was the desire of the Armenian people for self-determination, for freedom, and the right to live as an independent state.

The European Parliaments and the United States Congress resounded with exhortations that freedom be granted and justice done to this people, who, again to quote Toynbee, had—

maintained their tradition with extraordinary vitality against wave upon wave of alien conquest from every quarter.

Finally, during the First World War, the Armenian people made the final and supreme sacrifice. They firmly and squarely sided with

the Allies, gave volunteer forces under the Allied Command in the Middle East, on the eastern front, and elsewhere. For a people whose numbers had been decimated to less than 4 million, they gave a participation of 250,000, fighting against the Axis Powers.

With the collapse of the Russian Empire and from this altar of endless sacrifice was born at last the Armenian dream, the free and independent State of Armenia, founded on May 28, 1918.

The new state was welcomed throughout the Western World. The Armenian Republic was recognized by the Supreme Allied Council on January 19, 1920; by the United States Government, in a communication addressed by Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby to the Armenian Minister Plenipotentiary in Washington, Dr. Armen Pastermadjian, on April 23, 1920; and, finally, by the International Treaty of Sevres of August 10, 1920, which on behalf of Armenia was signed by the great Armenian statesman, Avedis Aharonian, whose son is with us here today.

But from the very outset the new Red dictators of Russia were hostile to the independent Armenian Republic. As early as the summer of 1918, when the Armenians were fighting Germano-Turkish forces, holding back the oil center of Baku from falling into the hands of the Axis, Communist Moscow deliberately withheld any help to the beleaguered Armenians, who were aided only by a small British contingent, for already, on March 3, 1918, with the signing of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, Communist Moscow had begun to woo its former enemies.

The frantic efforts of the Bolsheviks to win over the new Turkey are a matter of historical record. What is most pertinent here is that Armenia was, for the Soviets, the main roadblock to the achievement of this aim.

This fact is given to us by none other than the Great Soviet Encyclopedia, which in the third volume of the 1926 edition, on page 438, states:

In 1920, the friendly relations, which had been initiated between Soviet Russia and Ankara, came up against the opposition of Dashnag Armenia, which, as a hostile power, stood on the avenues of communication between the two countries.

It was to eliminate this "hostile power" that Communist Moscow drafted a plan of action which could well be considered as one of the earliest blueprints of tactics and strategy to subjugate and occupy a small country.

First, it was the fifth column of infiltration which years later the Communists were to perfect throughout the world. Communist agents were sent to Armenia, spreading their insidious propaganda, carrying out provocations, and trying to take over the labor unions.

Armenia had come out of the darkness of 600 years of foreign subjugation, had been decimated physically through massacres, had fought on two major fronts and out of this chaos of ruins and destruction was making the supreme effort to set up a democratic and progressive country.

The tasks before the newly formed Armenian Government were overwhelmingly difficult. And the Communists took full advantage of this.

The First World War had left behind it Armenian orphans by the ten thousand, poverty and epidemics, while the destruction of com-

munication lines during the war had left Armenia completely isolated from the rest of the world.

Under these conditions the Communist agents used every subversive means to bring about a general uprising of the people in May of 1920. However, they failed and only sporadic demonstrations, led by Communist agents, took place in some towns and villages of Armenia.

However, on the diplomatic level, as again was to become the standard Communist procedure of deception, Moscow pretended to be friendly to Armenia. And when a delegation of the Armenian Republic, headed by the noted Armenian writer Levon Shant, arrived in Moscow to negotiate, every pretense was made by the Communists that they wished to come to an amicable understanding.

But this was to be a sham, probably the earliest model for the later Panmunjom, where points were discussed endlessly and new details brought up by the Communists every time the essentials would be ironed out.

In the meantime, the internally active agents in Armenia were supported by outside military aggression. Thus, Armenia was attacked by Turkish armies from the south and by Communist armies from the north and the northeast.

In Moscow, the Communists, again with the outward pretense of expediting matters, asked the Armenian delegation to leave, assuring them that Moscow would send its own representatives to Erivan, the Armenian capital, there to come to an understanding.

When these arrived, headed by Legran, it became clear that the delegation consisted of a few negotiators and scores of agents, agitators, propagandists, and experts at subversion.

By the end of November, the infant Republic of Armenia, which had been born out of 4 years of constant fighting and bleeding during the First World War, and who now for months had fought on 3 fronts against the overwhelming odds of Turkish and Communist armies, faced prospects of total destruction and the complete decimation of its people.

Resistance was not only senseless, but physically impossible.

Everywhere, the Communist agents were urging that the people and the soldiers of the Armenian army not fight back and welcome the invading forces as liberators.

Under these conditions the Armenian Government signed a treaty with the Communist delegation transferring the state to new authority.

The treaty, though signed under the impossible conditions just described, was, nevertheless, far from an abject surrender. It stipulated, among other points:

1. Though accepting the Soviet form of government, Armenia was to remain independent of Moscow as a sovereign state, much as is the case of Yugoslavia, for instance, today.

2. The Russians would give temporary military assistance to safeguard the territorial integrity of the Armenian Republic.

3. There would be no persecution either against the officers of the Armenian Republic who had fought the Communist armies, or the anti-Communist political parties, primarily the Dashnags.

These latter, members of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, established in 1890, had been the most dynamic group, both in the

establishment of the Armenian Republic and its organization. Being irrevocably anti-Communist, they were then and, as will be seen, to this day, considered by the Soviets as the most dangerous force that could counter communism in Armenia.

The treaty was signed on December 2, 1920. It will be found in the volume entitled, "Collection of Valid Treaties," published by the Soviet Commissariat of Foreign Affairs in Moscow, in 1922.

However, hardly had the Communists taken over, when they flagrantly trampled every provision of the said treaty. Armenia was made a vassal of Moscow; 1,200 officers of the Armenian Army were driven in a death march through the Caucasian Mountains to destinations unknown. Scores of former Government leaders, prominent Dashnags, intellectuals, and writers were thrown into prison, where a systematic slaughtering of these victims was started.

This barbarism on the part of the Communists, who had posed as "liberators," drove the Armenian people to revolt. On February 18, 1921, there was a general uprising throughout Armenia.

As far as can be established this is the only case of a small country, coming under the complete domination and military occupation of Communist forces and then liberating itself of its strength and might.

Sir Oliver Baldwin, son of the former Prime Minister of Britain, has graphically described in his book, *Six Prisons and Two Revolutions*, how the Armenians rose and drove the Communist occupation forces from the land.

Sir Oliver had been a colonel in the Armenian Army.

With independence reestablished, with the thousands of leaders and intellectuals freed from the Communist prisons, Prime Minister Simon Vratzian sent out an urgent appeal to the free world for help against a Communist menace which then was directed against Armenia, but was to grow into the monstrous world threat it is today.

But answer came there none. The free world was innocent then of the knowledge it so bitterly acquired later.

Today, the Communists have had 33 years in Armenia to win over the people. They have failed miserably and completely, for persecution and tyranny have deepened the desire of the Armenians for freedom and independence.

Our evidence of this Communist failure we have from the highest authority possible—the Communist rulers themselves. To quote just one instance: At the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Armenia held in February of this year, the new General Secretary Tovmassian, who has replaced the former Beria puppet Arutinov, solemnly declared:

We cannot forget that we are not insured against the penetration of bourgeois reactionary and in particular against the penetration of Dashnag ideology.

For 33 years, the Communists have fought tooth and nail, have slandered and accused, have cast every imaginable slur against the so-called bourgeois nationalists, and primarily against the Dashnags, and yet, they are faced with no choice but to confess the prevalence in Armenia of Dashnag ideology, which, if translated from the ludicrous Communist jargon, simply means this: The desire of the people for freedom, democracy, and national independence.

Evan Anastas Mikoyan, one of the five top leaders of the Soviet Union, in March of this year, arrived from Moscow to Armenia, and in a public statement in Erivan, inter alia, said:

Of all the remnants of the past, the most dangerous, and withal the most vitally alive, is the nationalist spirit.

These confessions of Communist leaders, the Soviet press, and radio could be stacked ceiling high, for hardly a day goes by but there is in the Soviet papers or the pronouncements of the Communist leaders a new insult against the Dashnags, the American imperialists, the bourgeois-nationalists, with a warning that they are still strong and that their ideology is dominant.

Mr. Chairman, I believe that the point of greatest weakness within the Soviet Union is the point of its greatest lie. It could not be otherwise.

And the fact is that the greatest Soviet lie is their claim to have digested the non-Russian peoples of the U. S. S. R. into a formless, disfigured whole, devoid of character and tradition, known as the Soviet citizen.

This despicable falsehood could, as I stated, be given the lie on the basis of actually countless, numberless Soviet confessions.

And on the basis of these confessions it is seen, clearly and unequivocally, that the non-Russian peoples of the U. S. S. R. strive for their own national freedom, their own independence, their right to live as sovereign nations within the greater family of free states.

May I say, Mr. Chairman, that what your committee is doing is of the greatest inspiration to these small nations, who actually form the criterion, the measuring stick of our justice, of our convictions in freedom and democracy, for above and beyond the work of establishing Communist aggression and its methods, the work of your committee is evidence to the small nations of the U. S. S. R. that they are not forgotten, not abandoned by their more fortunate brothers living in the blessings of democracy.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you, Mr. Navassardian.

Are there any questions, Mr. Machrowicz?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I have no questions. I want to compliment you, Mr. Navassardian, for a very fine statement.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Can you tell us what the term "Dashnag" means?

Mr. NAVASSARDIAN. It is an abbreviation of the words "Dash Zutune," which means federation in Armenian. And the full name of the political party I referred to is the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, the last word in the Armenian language being Dashnagzutune. The last word has been abbreviated to Dashnag, and the members of the party are generally referred to as Dashnags.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Is that part of an underground movement in Armenia?

Mr. NAVASSARDIAN. Well, at present, if in existence, it is definitely underground, because from the very first day the Communist policy toward the Dashnags has been one of not really persecution, but banishment to Siberia, jail, and death.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Is Dashnag supported by the people of Armenian descent here in the United States as well as in the rest of the free world?

Mr. NAVASSARDIAN. Definitely so. It is supported by Americans of Armenian descent in the United States, by French of Armenian de-

scent in France, throughout the Middle East, and wherever there is a congregation of Armenians.

Mr. McTIGUE. There are witnesses here, I presume, who will give eyewitness testimony to the various points that you established in your statement; is that correct?

Mr. NAVASSARDIAN. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. I have no further questions.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you, Mr. Navassardian. We appreciate very much the contribution you have made to our hearings, and we look forward now to hearing from the witnesses who will give us eyewitness testimony.

We have Dr. Darbinian here.

Mr. McTIGUE. Dr. Darbinian.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you raise your right hand? What is your name?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Darbinian. Ruben Darbinian.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth so help you God?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Yes; I do.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Counsel.

TESTIMONY OF DR. RUBEN DARBINIAN

Mr. McTIGUE. Where are you presently residing, Doctor? What is your address?

Dr. DARBINIAN. My address is in Boston, 10 Museum Road, Boston, Mass.

Mr. McTIGUE. In what capacity are you presently employed? What are you doing at the present time? What is your employment?

Dr. DARBINIAN. I am an editor of the Armenian publications there in Boston.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is that a weekly publication?

Dr. DARBINIAN. It is a daily, it is a weekly, it is a monthly, and it is a quarterly—four publications.

Mr. McTIGUE. What is the name of the publications?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Hairinik.

Mr. McTIGUE. Does that have a very wide circulation among people of the Armenian nationality here in this country?

Dr. DARBINIAN. We have the widest circulation, not only in America, but all over the world.

Mr. McTIGUE. How large a circulation do you have, approximately?

Dr. DARBINIAN. About 10,000.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you born, Dr. Darbinian?

Dr. DARBINIAN. I was born in Akhalkalakhe. It is now a part of Georgia. That is, the Armenian population is the majority, almost all the population are Armenian, but that province belongs now to Soviet Georgia.

Mr. McTIGUE. In what year were you born? What is the date of your birth?

Dr. DARBINIAN. 1883.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you hold office in the Government of the independent Armenian Republic?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. What was that office?

Dr. DARBINIAN. My office was attorney general. I was attorney general, minister of justice, of that government.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did there come a time, Doctor, in 1918 when you were sent to Moscow by the Armenian National Council?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Why?

Dr. DARBINIAN. By the Armenian National Council I was sent to get help for the Armenian folks, especially for the Baku population who were surrounded. That was during the First World War.

Mr. McTIGUE. They were surrounded by whom?

Dr. DARBINIAN. They were surrounded by the Turkish Army, under German command. The spring of 1918 we were surrounded in Baku. There was civil war all over Czarist Russia. So Baku was in a desperate condition. The Armenian population could be exterminated if the Turkish Army, with the Germans, would take that city, and that city was still in our hands.

There was civil war in Baku before, and the Armenian National Council organized the government which included some Russian elements there. Some of them were Communists, some of them were Social Democrats and some of them were Social Revolutionaries. There was that kind of coalition government.

It was the beginning of the civil war in Russia. So when the situation became very critical, then our national council decided to send me and a friend of mine to Moscow to get help. They requested we negotiate—that they send about 3,000 soldiers. They didn't have many soldiers at that time. They sent 3,000 soldiers to Baku. But it was too late. The Armenian National Council, after we went to Moscow and when they got our first reports, that there was not much hope to get much help from Moscow, then our national council decided to ask the British Army, which was at that time in Persia, for help.

And the British decided to come to Baku, they needed oil. They came to Baku. But before coming, they asked our national council to arrest all the Communists there in Baku and to disarm the Soviet soldiers, the Red soldiers which were sent from Moscow, which our national council did.

Mr. McTIGUE. What happened to you and your delegation when you were in Moscow?

Dr. DARBINIAN. My friends, two of my friends, who were negotiating with them, were arrested. I succeeded in running away from them.

Mr. McTIGUE. From the Russians?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Yes; from the Communists, and then, after a while, I went to Ukraina, from Ukraina to Armenia. I came to Armenia when the republic was already established. After a few weeks, I was invited to participate in their government as Minister of Justice.

Mr. FEIGHAN. How long were your associates detained in Moscow at the time when you fled?

Dr. DARBINIAN. We were living in the same house. They did not know we were living in the same place. They first got the address of one of us. They came and arrested him about 2 o'clock at night. Then they went. We thought all of us would be arrested that night. After 2 hours, they came to arrest us and then I decided to run.

Mr. FEIGHAN. What happened to the two who were arrested?

Dr. DARBINIAN. They were arrested; they were freed. They were freed later by the Communists.

Mr. McTIGUE. With the establishment of the Armenian Republic, in 1918—

Dr. DARBINIAN. In 1919, in November, I succeeded in arriving there.

Mr. McTIGUE. You took an official position in the Government of Armenia?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. What was that position, and by whom were you appointed, Doctor?

Dr. DARBINIAN. By the Prime Minister of that time, Khatissian.

Mr. McTIGUE. As Minister of Justice in the Republic of Armenia, I presume that one of the principal requisites of your position was to keep a very close watch on Communists and Communist subversion; is that correct, Doctor?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Yes. As a matter of fact, in May 1920, we had a Communist rebellion, a Communist uprising there, Communist-organized, May Day. That is on May Day they organized an uprising there, a rebellion. Our Government had to put down this Bolshevik uprising and we arrested many of them.

Mr. McTIGUE. At that time, did the Communists succeed in infiltrating the Armenian Army?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Yes. Their propaganda was concentrated on our railroad workers and our army, the most sensitive points.

Mr. McTIGUE. When you say railroad workers, you mean communications?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Communications, the workers' unions, on railroads. They fell under Communist direction, most of them. Communists infiltrated our unions, workers' unions, and then the army. Many of them were sent as volunteers—volunteers, you know, from—

Mr. McTIGUE. Russia?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Russia, as volunteers in the army. Because we needed soldiers, we were glad to take them.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did this affect the ability of the Armenian Army to fight?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Yes, that was the reason why, after a few months, the Armenian Army, when there was combined attack from Turkey and from Soviet Russia, then our Army could not resist properly, especially at the south and on our southern front, they could not defend our frontiers.

Mr. McTIGUE. When, Doctor, did the Soviet Army invade Armenia?

Dr. DARBINIAN. The Soviet Army invaded a little later. First, they had an agreement with Turkey. Under this agreement Turkey attacked us, and then a little later, when they advanced, the Russians offered their help to us, and put certain conditions, but we did not accept. Then they invaded, invaded from the north, in November 1919, although they agreed to sign a treaty with us—

Mr. McTIGUE. When you say "they," you are talking about the Turks?

Dr. DARBINIAN. About what?

Mr. McTIGUE. Whom are you talking about now?

Dr. DARBINIAN. The Soviets. The Soviets were offering their help against the Turks, but they were the allies of the Turks. They instigated the Turks to attack Armenia.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Dr. Darbinian, when you are speaking about this agreement, would you go back, first, and give us the background picture?

As I understand it, a Mr. Legran was in Moscow representing the Russians, who had invited the Armenians to go to Moscow, where they asked Moscow for some kind of negotiations because Armenia was threatened by the Turk Army which was directed by the Germans; is that correct?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Would you start from when the Armenian delegation went to Moscow? They stayed there for a considerable time?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Yes, they stayed there about 2 months, I think, a 3-man delegation. They went to Moscow as representatives of our independent government.

They were very friendly at first. Then when our military situation deteriorated in Armenia and the Turks were advancing, they said that it would be better to continue the negotiations in Erivan, in our capital. "It is better to go back to your country. We will send our delegation." They then sent their delegation, which was made up of all trained agents, they brought much literature, they were under the chairmanship of Legran. Their representative was Mr. Legran, a man with a French name. He came to Erivan to continue the negotiations, but they ended when we lost our fortress, our big fortress, Kars.

Mr. FEIGHAN. After these negotiations were going on in Moscow, between the representatives of Armenia, led by Dr. Aharonian—

Dr. DARBINIAN. He was Prime Minister, but the head of the delegation was Mr. Chantt. He was head of the delegation, a well-known writer, who died just recently.

Mr. FEIGHAN. When the Russians suggested that the negotiations be continued in Erivan, at that time had the Turks started to attack?

Dr. DARBINIAN. They attacked before, but they were advancing all the time; they were advancing and when our Armenian military situation was very bad, then Legran came. Already we were desperate, and then they began to negotiate. But this negotiation was almost in ultimatum form, because we could not resist their army, also. On November 29, the Red army entered Armenia from the north.

Mr. FEIGHAN. In other words, as of November 29, 1920?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. The Turks, under the German leadership, were attacking from the south?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. And then the Russians attacked from the north; is that right?

Dr. DARBINIAN. No, in 1920, the Germans were not there, only the Turks. In 1918, with German command, but 1920, when they were attacking independent Armenia, it was a rebellious Turkish Government which was attacking with the Soviet help. They were attacking our independent Armenia from the south, and when they already took our fortress, the Soviet delegation came to Erivan and offered terms which were not acceptable, but were almost in an ultimatum

form. We had to accept. They promised to recognize the independence of Armenia, not destroy the independence.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Doctor, let me ask you this: On November 29, 1920, while the negotiations were still in progress in the capital, Erivan, did not the Russians come in with their army?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Yes; they had entered Armenia already.

Mr. FEIGHAN. That was before any negotiations were completed?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Would you tell me the circumstances under which the Russian Army entered Armenia? Did they issue any kind of a proclamation?

Dr. DARBINIAN. No; it was this way: We were having these negotiations with the Russians in Erivan, and these negotiations ended with an agreement, and the agreement was signed on December 2. However, the Russian Army had entered November 29, from the north into Armenia, and they then proclaimed already a Soviet republic in Armenia. That is in the first town, the first Armenian town at the border that they seized, the Russian Army proclaimed a Soviet republic. And after 3 days they signed then the agreement with us.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Where was that agreement signed?

Dr. DARBINIAN. The agreement was signed in December of the same year 1920, December 2 of 1920, the agreement was signed, but the Red army entered Armenia and a Soviet Republic was proclaimed already 3 days before in one of the northern Armenian towns.

Mr. FEIGHAN. When these negotiations were first in being, Dr. Aharonian was the Prime Minister?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Yes; he was the Prime Minister.

Mr. FEIGHAN. But at the time of the signing of this so-called treaty on December 2, 1920, he had been replaced by another Prime Minister?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Would you tell us the name of his successor?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Dr. Vraatzian.

Mr. FEIGHAN. And why was he appointed Prime Minister?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Because we thought that he would be more acceptable to the Soviets because during Aharonian's presidency, or his government, there was the Soviet Bolshevik uprising. We had to suppress them, and so they were not friendly, they couldn't be friendly towards that government.

So we thought with a different kind of Cabinet with different people, possibly they would get more favorable terms from the Soviet Government, but only 6 days after, they presented us this surrender ultimatum, which we had to accept.

Mr. FEIGHAN. What were the terms of this treaty of December 2, 1920, between Russia and Armenia?

Dr. DARBINIAN. The terms were—they promised not to destroy the independence of Armenia, and they promised not to persecute all these people who had been governing Armenia before. But they broke instantly all these promises.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Did they also not agree that Armenia was not to be under the Moscow Communist control, but was to be under an Armenian Communist regime?

Dr. DARBINIAN. They agreed; yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Now, in retrospect, we see the negotiations in Moscow which were delayed and delayed until the Turks attacked from

the south, and then the negotiations apparently were continued and delayed in order to give the Turks time to come into Armenia?

Dr. DARBINIAN. That is right.

Mr. FEIGHAN. And then they transferred the meeting to Erivan, the capital of Armenia, and then they took over?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. That is just—

Dr. DARBINIAN. That is just deliberate procrastination from Moscow. Deliberately they were procrastinating these negotiations.

Mr. FEIGHAN. These conferences and negotiations were for the purpose of gaining time for themselves so they could accomplish their evil deed of taking over?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Yes, yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. By the way, when the Russians came into Armenia on November 29, 1920, they at that time gave the ultimatum, did they not?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Yes, it was in ultimatum form they began to negotiate with us, because their delegation itself was almost an ultimatum.

Mr. FEIGHAN. That is practically the same technique that the Russians used in taking over Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. It certainly is the same technique they used with the Ukrainians. The Ukrainians got their ultimatum as the Red army also invaded it.

Dr. DARBINIAN. Yes, you are right. And I think that it is even—I would say this: It would be better to compare with Poland. Russia first came to an agreement with Nazi Germany about Poland, then instigated the Germans to attack Poland. Germany attacked Poland, and then from the other side the Soviet Army entered Poland. They divided the country.

Just the same thing happened in Armenia. They instigated the Turks to attack Armenia from the south, and then, as liberators, they entered Armenia from the north and divided Armenia with the Turks—the same technique they use in almost every case, with all the small nations.

Mr. FEIGHAN. In other words, then, in Armenia the Russians used the Turks as a vehicle to destroy Armenia.

Dr. DARBINIAN. Yes, they were very friendly to the Turks; yes, they used the Turks at that time against the Armenians.

Mr. FEIGHAN. In other words, they get other nations to do their fighting and their dirty business?

Dr. DARBINIAN. And they come as liberators.

Mr. FEIGHAN. As liberators?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. That same pattern was followed in North Korea?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Everywhere. Everywhere it is the same. In Korea, it is the same thing.

Mr. FEIGHAN. And, of course, in south Asia they have gotten the Chinese fighting the Indochinese; is that correct?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Indochina, yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Was there a popular revolt in Armenia in February of 1921?

Dr. DARBINIAN. On February 7, after 2½ months of Soviet Communist rule, we had a popular uprising, a general uprising, and we

succeeded in throwing them out. And the government—we organized a provisional government there—had to fight Communists who came from Georgia, from Azerbaijan, and then new armies were sent by the Soviets. And unfortunately after 45 days of fighting, they succeeded in overcoming the Armenian resistance.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Were the Russians in control of Armenia at the time they were thrown out?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Yes. We were in jail at that time. The Armenian people freed us from jail, asked us to rule the country again.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Did not the Russians also help the Turks to attack the Greeks in Smyrna?

Dr. DARBINIAN. They helped. At that time Greece was fighting Turkey in order to get not only Smyrna—they were already in Smyrna—they wanted to get also Constantinople. And the Russians—it would be better to say the Soviet Government—helped them, sent money and armaments and political support, giving every possible support to resist the Allies, whom they called the western imperialists, and colonists.

Mr. FEIGHAN. That so-called slogan to oppose western colonialism originated in the meeting of the Third International, did it not?

Dr. DARBINIAN. That meeting—the first meeting was held in Baku, in 1920, when they took Azerbaijan, where the Russian oilfields are. They held a big congress of oriental peoples, where Sinovia, the president of the Third Communist International, was presiding.

So then, of course, resolutions were passed against all the colonial powers, and they were promising all eastern people help, every kind of people. They were instigating them to revolt, and not only to communize but also nationalism. They did promise to support all the nationalist movements in the Near East, the Far East, and Middle East.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Dr. Darbinian, as I understand it, the Russians now try to have the Armenians celebrate November 29, 1920, as the liberation day.

Dr. DARBINIAN. As the day of liberation, yes, all over the world, among Armenians, the Communists organized memorial days of their liberation on November 29, including affairs in this country. Unfortunately, many fellow travelers joined them in these liberation, so-called liberation, celebrations.

Mr. FEIGHAN. If anything should be commemorated, it should be the treaty of December 2, 1920, when the Russians violated every one of the sections of that treaty by wanton disregard of the treaty agreements. Is that not so?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Yes. They want everyone to forget about December 2. They never mention this agreement of December 2. They mention only November 29, when they tell the people they liberated Armenia, but not when they came to agreement with the former government of independent Armenia. They want to forget about this.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Well, November 29 was the day when the Russian Army entered Armenia and made the proclamation that they were establishing a Soviet Armenia?

Dr. DARBINIAN. A Soviet Armenia, that is it.

Mr. FEIGHAN. And gave the ultimatum which finally resulted in the signing of the peace treaty of December 2?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Yes, December 2.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Machrowicz?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Dr. Darbinian, you mentioned several times that at the time Turkey attacked Armenia, it was upon an agreement they had with Soviet Russia?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Was that a written agreement?

Dr. DARBINIAN. There was a written agreement, and not everything was written, because, you see—

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Was that—

Dr. DARBINIAN. They had friendly relations already. Their delegates went to Moscow in 1918. During the first months of the Soviet rule, Turkish delegates came to Moscow to negotiate with them. But there was no definite agreement at that time.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Was there any written agreement between Turkey and Soviet Russia before the Turkish attack upon Armenia?

Dr. DARBINIAN. We have found and published—letters from German generals—letters written to Turks in Moscow and letters from this Turkish Pasha—who was negotiating with the Soviet Government and letters to the German general at that time, 1918. But we have not this agreement. The agreement however was signed later.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. But there was a secret agreement?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Secret, yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Prior to the attack?

Dr. DARBINIAN. They had a secret agreement, but publicly they signed the agreement later; when they already overpowered independent Armenia, they signed this agreement, which is known.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You have mentioned that this is an exact parallel of the situation in Poland. There the situation was practically the same in the latter part of August 1939. A secret agreement was entered into between Molotov and Ribbentrop in which Soviet Russia consented to the German attack upon Poland, and then in September 1939, I believe the 21st of September, after Russia had already conquered Poland, then the public Molotov-Ribbentrop agreement was signed which actually was only repetition of what had been done in secret before the German attack upon Poland.

Dr. DARBINIAN. Yes; almost the same happened, because there was also a secret agreement. We have not only these letters of generals, between Turkish and German generals, but now we have also the report made by the Turkish general, the commanding general on the eastern front, Karabekir Pasha, who was on the Armenian front, who advanced and attacked Armenia, that they were communicating, negotiating with Russians and the Russians consented when they told them that they will attack.

They wanted their agreement. They got their agreement, that is consent, to attack Armenia. So it was secret. At that time it was secret. Only later, many years later, we learned about this secret agreement.

Of course, the German and Soviet agreement was public, but there were also secret points which we did not know at this time.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Just like in the Yalta agreement?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What I would like to point out is this: Every secret agreement ever entered into by Soviet Russia, with any other power, whether it be the United States or Germany or any other

power, always eventually ended in a destruction of the very things the other nation was seeking and always in violation by the Soviet Government subsequently.

Dr. DARBINIAN. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And I think probably some of our diplomats should know that some of these secret commitments entered into never can be of any benefit to this country but only to Soviet Russia.

Dr. DARBINIAN. That is right.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Doctor, we had testimony by the representatives of the Estonian Government who were talking about Stalin and Molotov, I believe, in which they were making their mutual assistance agreement, and Stalin said, "The word of a Soviet is like steel," but at that very moment that they made this agreement, the Russians had already agreed with the Germans that Estonia should be in the Russian sphere of influence, which is just another typical example of their fraud, duplicity, and deceit.

Dr. DARBINIAN. That is right; yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. Doctor, when did you leave Armenia?

Dr. DARBINIAN. I left Armenia in 1921; I left from Erivan. I had been confined in a Communist jail for 2½ months. Then there was the popular uprising, we were freed, again we organized a government there and went out to fight communism. Forty-five days after the new Russian armies came and overpowered us, we had to go to the mountainous part of Armenia, which was still free, and from that mountainous part of Armenia some of us moved to Persia.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you eventually emigrate to the United States?

Dr. DARBINIAN. While I was in Tabriz, I got a telegram from Boston, asking me to come to Boston as an editor of our daily, which was already established there, or was published; since 1899, we have a daily paper in Boston.

Mr. McTIGUE. You have a daily and a weekly and a monthly?

Dr. DARBINIAN. And these, the others, when I was already here.

Mr. McTIGUE. What year was that that you came to the United States, to Boston?

Dr. DARBINIAN. When I came to the United States?

Mr. McTIGUE. Just give me the year for the record.

Dr. DARBINIAN. It was 1922, March, the end of March, 1922.

Mr. McTIGUE. Doctor, it is my understanding that you have executed a statement for submission to the committee which covers in detail some of the topics that you have discussed in your testimony here today.

Dr. DARBINIAN. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, may I suggest that this statement which Dr. Darbinian has executed be marked for identification and admitted into the record as "New York Exhibit NR 38"?

Mr. FEIGHAN. No objection, and it will be so ordered.

Mr. McTIGUE. How many people, approximately, are there of Armenian descent in the United States today, do you know?

Dr. DARBINIAN. How many living in the United States?

Mr. McTIGUE. Yes.

Dr. DARBINIAN. I think about 200,000 Armenians live in the United States; about.

Mr. McTIGUE. Thank you.

Dr. DARBINIAN. Possibly a little more.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What was the prewar population of Armenia?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Now about 2 million, a little less than 2 million.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is now; and what was it prewar, before the war?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Before World War I? The Russian war was on for 4 years in our Armenian territory. We did not have opportunity to gather exact figures on population.

Mr. McTIGUE. I believe that is all, Mr. Chairman, unless you have some further questions.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Doctor, do you not feel that the technique and the tactics of the Russians in illegally seizing the other nations usually follow the same pattern, except with a little variation, depending upon the particular situation obtaining in the nation they are about to seize?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Yes. They use the same technique, but they consider the conditions existing in every country, their psychology, their needs, but the technique always is the same. They always break all their agreements, their promises; they always do. You never can believe whatever they say.

Mr. FEIGHAN. I would like to ask how many Communists were in Armenia at the time that these negotiations were going on in Moscow previous to November 29, 1920, when the Russian Army came into Armenia.

Dr. DARBINIAN. How many what?

Mr. FEIGHAN. How many Communists, active Communists, were in Armenia?

The reason I ask this: That usually the Russians take the negotiators from a foreign country up to Moscow to sign the final agreement, which they usually put under their noses and say, "Sign, or else."

But in this particular instance, after they delayed the negotiations in Moscow, until they were certain that the Turks had advanced sufficiently far, they used the technique of switching the negotiation site into Erivan, the capital of Armenia, but put this extra stipulation, that a vast number of Russian representatives would go into Erivan, with their propaganda, money, literature. That represents a somewhat different approach than the usual.

Dr. DARBINIAN. Because it was possible to do it that way. They would do the same thing in other cases, if it is necessary and possible for them. In this case it was very convenient for them. They could do it. It was much more easy for them to overpower Armenia when they were already inside of Armenia. There were many Communists there.

And they used non-Armenian elements in Armenia. There were Turks, Mohammedans; they were using them. There were Russians in Armenia. They were using them against independent Armenia. These Russians were not Communists, but they used them as the representatives of Russia. For the interests of Russia, these Russian elements were used by the Communists against the independence of Armenia.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Used them as a very effective fifth column?

Dr. DARBINIAN. How?

Mr. FEIGHAN. They used them as a fairly effective fifth column?

Dr. DARBINIAN. Yes; that is right.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you very much.

Do you have any questions?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. No.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you very much, Doctor. We appreciate immensely this contribution which you have made to our hearings.

Mr. McTIGUE. The next witness, Mr. Chairman, is Gen. Dro Kanayan. Is General Dro in the room, please?

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you state your name, please?

Mr. NAVASSARDIAN. Beglar Navassardian.

Mr. FEIGHAN. You will act as interpreter for General Dro?

Mr. NAVASSARDIAN. I do, sir.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you solemnly swear that you will translate from English into Armenian and from Armenian into English, and that your translation will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. NAVASSARDIAN. I do, sir.

General Dro, will you stand? Will you state your name, please?

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you raise your right hand, please? Do you solemnly swear that you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

General Dro. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Counsel.

**TESTIMONY OF GEN. DRO KANAYAN, THROUGH THE INTERPRETER,
BEGLAR NAVASSARDIAN**

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you born, General, and when?

General Dro. In 1884, in the city of Igdir, May 30, 1884.

Mr. McTIGUE. What is your present residence, General?

General Dro. My family resides at Watertown, Mass., and I live in Beirut, Lebanon.

Mr. McTIGUE. Do you happen to be visiting in the United States at the present time?

General Dro. Yes, sir; I visit the United States approximately once every year.

Mr. McTIGUE. Your family is permanently residing in Watertown, Mass., and you are permanently residing in Beirut, Lebanon?

General Dro. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you Minister of Defense and commanding general of the armies of the independent Republic of Armenia, General?

General Dro. During the latter part of the independent Republic I was Minister of Defense and commander in chief of the military forces.

Mr. McTIGUE. When? What was the date? I want two dates, first, commanding general of the armies, and second, when you were Minister of Defense, please.

General Dro. From the establishment of the Republic in May 1918, to the summer of 1920, I was in military command in various posts, and toward the end of 1920, commander in chief of the military forces. I was Defense Minister for a short period toward the end of November 1920.

Mr. McTIGUE. General, we have had some testimony here this morning concerning the Soviet threat to the Republic of Armenia, and the Soviet troop movements in May of 1920 against the Republic

of Armenia. Can you tell us briefly what strategy or what tactics the Soviet employed at that time, that is, in May of 1920, when the Soviet threatened Armenia?

General DRO. The Soviet military pressure began in May of 1920, when the Soviet armies were carrying out probing actions and jabbing actions on the eastern frontier of Armenia, in the region of Karabagh, and as the months advanced they began to carry out military movements and again jabbing actions further to the north.

Beginning with May 1920, the Bolshevik strategy was as follows: It instigated the Turkish Armies to the south to attack the Armenian Republic.

Mr. FEIGHAN. The Russians did?

General DRO. The Russians did. They had an understanding with General Karabekir who was the leader of the Turkish Army, the commander. They instigated this army to attack Armenia from the south. The Soviet Russian Armies attacked at two points from the northeast and the north. By the end of September, the Turks had already entered the city of Alexandropol, and the population was being decimated.

Simultaneously, Russian forces had entered the northern frontiers of Armenia and Legran, who was by that time in Erivan, submitted an ultimatum to the Armenian Government that unless it accepted the conditions the Soviets were putting, the country and the land would face total destruction.

Mr. McTIGUE. And then what happened, General, after the issuance of this ultimatum? And what was the date of the ultimatum?

General DRO. I am not positive what the exact date of the ultimatum is. It is between November 28 and 29 of 1920.

The ultimatum at first was that as the Soviets and the Turkish Armies had already occupied certain parts of Armenia, there should be a total surrender by the Armenian Government, which we refused. At that point, they agreed to carry out further negotiation and establish a treaty which both parties would sign. The treaty was signed on December 2, 1920, with the following fundamental points:

1. That Armenia was to remain an independent Government, not under the political control of Communist Moscow.

2. That there would be no persecution of Dashnags, officers of the Armenian Army that had fought the Communists, or members of the former Government.

3. That the territorial integrity of Armenia would be kept through temporary help from the Russian military forces.

This was signed on December 2, 1920, by me, and Silian, representing the Russian side.

Mr. FEIGHAN. General Dro, did the Russians live up to the terms of the treaty which they agreed to and which you signed with them, along with other Armenian representatives, on December 2, 1920?

General DRO. They trampled everything under foot. Almost immediately after the signing of the treaty, about 1,200 officers of the Armenian Army were forced into a death march through the Caucasian Mountains toward the north. All the former leaders of the Government, like Dr. Darbinian, who testified a while ago, and scores of others, were imprisoned and the slaughtering—they actually used an ax—the slaughtering of these intellectuals was started in the prison.

The territorial integrity of Armenia was not respected and Armenia became a vassal, a country in the bondage of Moscow.

Mr. FEIGHAN. General, according to that treaty of December 2, 1920, were you supposed to retain the high command of the Armenian Army, and did you, and what happened thereafter with reference to your position?

General DRO. They respected it only until January 5, 1921. Under the terms of the agreement, I was to assume complete command of Armenia for a transitory period. But on January 5 I was given an ultimatum to leave the country in a special train that had been brought from Moscow, and both I and my military staff were taken in this train to Moscow.

Mr. FEIGHAN. What did you do in Moscow, General Dro?

General DRO. In Moscow I had several interviews with Stalin and Chichernin, who was Foreign Commissar at that time, and I presented the Armenian case to them, pointed out that an official treaty had been signed, but that each provision of the treaty had been trampled under foot by the Communists.

Mr. FEIGHAN. To whom did you address those remarks, both to Stalin and Chichernin, or to whom?

General DRO. I protested both to Stalin and to Chichernin. Stalin was Commissar for Nationalities and Chichernin was Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

Mr. FEIGHAN. What reaction did they give to your protest, General?

General DRO. Although they made several formal promises, that the wrongs that had been committed would be rectified, that the brutality and barbarism in Armenia would be brought to an end—but the fact remained that in effect in Armenia itself nothing, no reforms were carried out and the same treatment was continued.

Mr. FEIGHAN. General, you stated that on January 5, 1921, you were given an ultimatum, which was in violation by the Russians of the terms of the treaty of December 2, 1920, that you had to go to Moscow. What was the import of that ultimatum? Did that mean that you were to be exiled from Armenia and never again set foot on your native land?

General DRO. It so happens that I was a man of the people. I was brought up with the people, and primarily with the military. My word carried weight with the people and the military, and they felt that by exiling me out of the country they would morally break down the people by eliminating the one man whom they trusted as the last remnant of the republic.

Mr. FEIGHAN. General, you were actually put into exile, that is, were you free, too, or were you not free to return to Armenia?

General DRO. This was complete exile, because I did not have the right to move beyond the radius of 100 kilometers in Moscow.

Mr. FEIGHAN. General Dro, when you were in Moscow did Stalin give a dinner in your honor?

General DRO. As they do with all people, Stalin gave a luncheon in my honor, and at the luncheon, several promises were made that not only would conditions be rectified in Armenia, but that an understanding even might be reached with the Dashnag Party which, as you know, was the strongest anti-Communist party, and that justice and democracy would be reestablished in Armenia.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Well, at that luncheon, did Stalin admit that there had been violations of the treaty and that terror and brutalities were inflicted by the Russians on the Armenians subsequent to the treaty?

General DRO. In the presence of Stalin, Orzhonikidze, who was the military commander of the Caucasus, confessed—the political leader of all military forces in the Caucasus—confessed that every brutality and persecution had been committed by the Communists themselves, making the revolt of the Armenian people inevitable.

Orzhonikidze's statement was part of the reason why the entire structure of the secret police, the Cheka, was later changed in Armenia.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Just why, General, do you feel that Stalin gave that luncheon in your honor?

General DRO. There were two reasons. The first was that we had been friends from the earliest days of the revolution, in the period of 1905-6, when we had fought against the Czarist regime and Czarist tyranny. And the second reason was because they hoped to deceive the Armenian people by showing that they were kind to us.

Of course, the fact that we had fought side by side against the Russian tyranny of the Czarist period, that we had known each other personally for a long time, could not but play a part in the general attitude they adopted.

Mr. FEIGHAN. At the luncheon, General Dro, you stated that the Russian Orzhonikidze, who was in charge of the Russian army in the Caucasus, stated that because of the brutal treatment and persecution by the Communists in the Caucasus, the revolution was bound to come. Did an uprising subsequently follow?

General DRO. After they took over Armenia, with a brutality and persecution characteristic of the Middle Ages, the clergymen of Armenia, the intellectuals, the Dashnags, the former members of the Government were thrown into prison by the Communists, where the slaughtering of these people was started.

The officers were driven out of the country in death marches and the people, feeling that this was the last straw to their patience, even though they had to find the arms hidden by them and they were not as well armed as the Communist forces, the people rose and from February 16 to April 2 succeeded in freeing the total complete area of Armenia from Communist rule.

Mr. FEIGHAN. General Dro, you mentioned that the Russian Soviets made the officer corps of the Armenian Army march in a death march in the snows of the Caucasian Mountains. Would you elaborate just a little on that?

General DRO. This officer corps consisted of the elite of the Armenian Army, led by three of the most prominent generals—Nazerbekian, Silikian, and Hakhverdian. One of the generals on the way, unable to continue with the torture and the degradation he was being inflicted, grabbed at the opportunity to kill himself by throwing himself before a train, on the rails of a train, while scores of others—of course, I cannot remember the names, but scores of others died through torture and impossible conditions throughout the long march.

Mr. FEIGHAN. And that, of course, was in direct violation of the terms of the treaty of December 2, 1920?

General DRO. Just as all the other provisions, that specific provision that the officers would not be persecuted was completely trampled under foot.

Mr. FEIGHAN. General, how long did that march take?

General DRO. Approximately between 5 or 6 months of marching. The march was broken up. The first leg of the trip was from Erivan to Akhstafa, which is about 150 miles, but which is constantly mountainous, and it is snow covered.

Then, from Akhstafa to Baku, about 200 miles, and from Baku to Kazan. Of course, there were stops during this march. It wasn't one long incessant march. There were stops during the period, but the whole thing from Erivan to Akhstafa, from Akhstafa to Baku and from Baku to Kazan required 5 months.

Mr. McTIGUE. Altogether, how many miles were involved from the starting point in the capital to the ultimate finishing point in Kazan—and that is in Soviet Russia?

General DRO. That is right.

Mr. McTIGUE. What part of Russia is it in? Is it east of the Ural Mountains?

General DRO. It is in the central part of the U. S. S. R.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now, how many miles altogether were involved?

General DRO. About 2,000 miles counting the trips in boxcars and the marching.

Mr. McTIGUE. Was most of it marching?

General DRO. Most of it was in boxcars which were used for cattle, where the men would be squeezed in like sardines.

Mr. McTIGUE. Part of the journey was on foot?

General DRO. On foot.

Mr. McTIGUE. Part of the journey was in cattle cars?

General DRO. The main part that was on foot was through the mountains of the Caucasus in the snows, where many of the men died.

Mr. McTIGUE. How many officers and men of the Armenian Army were in this march?

General DRO. 1,200.

Mr. McTIGUE. How many perished, died, out of the 1,200 which originally started the march? How many survived at the ultimate destination?

General DRO. I cannot tell you exactly, but many score died on the way.

Mr. McTIGUE. What happened to the others, then? They were taken into Soviet Russia?

General DRO. Part of this officers corps was sent to concentration camps and prisons, and they took about 500 whom they tried to brain wash and train into their own system, with the purpose of eventually sending them back to Armenia. But the true elite of this officer corps was sent to Siberia, and put in concentration camps and exile.

Mr. McTIGUE. General, how do you know about this march and the fate of these officers?

General DRO. I was in Moscow up until 1924, where all this information was available, and I had it from Soviet sources themselves that most of these people had been exiled to concentration camps and we even heard about them, that is, several who had been shot in the camps.

Mr. McTIGUE. So it was the Soviet authorities themselves who told you about this march, this death march through the Caucasian Mountains?

General DRO. Specifically, Armenian Communists, like Kabinian, who was Prime Minister of Soviet Armenia, who were friends of mine, people like that, would give me the information.

Mr. McTIGUE. General Dro, when did you leave Moscow?

General DRO. In December of 1924.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Did the Cheka oppose your leaving?

General DRO. The Cheka, both the central office in Moscow and the Cheka in the Caucasus, was definitely opposed to my leaving, but what made it possible was my personal friendship with some of these leaders from the days of 1905-06.

Mr. FEIGHAN. General, will you, for the purposes of the record, just briefly describe what the Cheka were and tell us whether they were influential, both in the Caucasus and in Moscow?

General DRO. The Cheka used in broad outline three principal means. In every nation, in every one of the non-Russian nations of the U. S. S. R., they would exile, kill, or imprison all the intellectual leaders and all of the clergy.

Second, they had the right to judge anybody, arrest anybody, and pass judgment against this person, with three people sitting in on passing the decision, without any jury or hearing or defense.

And finally, they carried a great deal of weight, because within the Politbureau several members who were the most authoritative of the Politbureau were those who organized the Cheka and were the leading figures of the Cheka.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Machrowicz?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. No questions.

Mr. FEIGHAN. General Dro, were there any Armenians fighting in the Russian Soviet Army against the Armenians in Armenia?

General DRO. The army was purely Russian, and if there were any Armenians, we didn't know of any being there. It was a purely Russian army.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Machrowicz?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. No questions.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where did you go after you left Moscow, General?

General DRO. From Moscow, I arrived in Paris, and from there left for Rumania, where I established myself. I lived for 20 years in Rumania.

Mr. McTIGUE. And what was the year again, for the record, that you left Moscow and went to Paris?

General DRO. In 1924, the end of December, I left Moscow. On January 1, I was already in Berlin.

Mr. McTIGUE. I may have been out of the room, Mr. Chairman, when this testimony was taken, but can you tell me the first time, General, that you had a meeting or contact with Stalin?

General DRO. The beginning of February 1921, when I arrived in Moscow, the third day after my arrival, I was received by Stalin, and my main statement to him was my protest that the country was under military occupation, and that the people—

Mr. McTIGUE. No, I wanted to go back. I wanted to know when you first met Stalin. What was your first meeting?

General DRO. In the period of 1905-1906, where we met several times.

Mr. McTIGUE. What was Stalin doing at that time? What occasion did you have to meet with Stalin? What was the nature of the meetings, a social occasion?

General DRO. Stalin at that time in 1905-1906 was a propagandist for the Bolshevik Party, and since there was general fighting against the Czarist tyranny, there would even be cases where in a strike, for instance, or in a demonstration, the various anti-Czarist forces would be working together, and that is the time when I had occasion to meet Stalin, who was then a Bolshevik propagandist.

There would be cases when all the political parties that were against the Czarist tyranny, the Social Democrats, the Social Revolutionaries, the Dashnags, would on certain occasions work together against Czarist tyranny.

Mr. McTIGUE. I have no further questions.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. No further questions.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you, General Dro. Our committee appreciates very much this first-hand testimony from you who have fought so vigorously for the freedom and independence of Armenia. We are glad to have you as an eyewitness to the signing of the treaty which was so flagrantly violated by Russia.

Thank you, again, for the committee.

Mr. Counsel.

Mr. McTIGUE. The next witness, Mr. Chairman, is Mr. Aharonian.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you state your name?

Mr. AHARONIAN. Vartkes Aharonian.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you raise your right hand and take this oath? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth so help you God?

Mr. AHARONIAN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF VARTKES AHARONIAN

Mr. McTIGUE. Where are you residing at the present time, Mr. Aharonian?

Mr. AHARONIAN. In New York, 525 West 182d Street.

Mr. McTIGUE. Will you please speak up as loudly as you can so the people in the rear of the room can hear?

In what capacity are you employed at the present time?

Mr. AHARONIAN. I am a journalist and a teacher of the Armenian language.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you born, Mr. Aharonian, and when?

Mr. AHARONIAN. In 1888, September 23, in Armenia.

Mr. McTIGUE. In Armenia?

Mr. AHARONIAN. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you in Armenia in 1918 when the independent nation of Armenia was established?

Mr. AHARONIAN. Not exactly on the day when the independence was established because actual independence of Armenia was established by the Armenian military forces, fighting against the enemy, but the proclamation of Armenian independence was made in Tiflis. Tiflis was the capital of Trans-Caucasia during the Russian domination and later on it was the capital of Georgia.

The Armenian National Council was residing in Tiflis until 1918, when the proclamation of independence was made by the Armenian Nation Council, and my late father was at that time the president of the National Council.

Mr. McTIGUE. The proclamation which you have just referred to, Mr. Aharonian, guaranteed certain basic freedoms—isn't that true—such as trial by jury, the secret ballot, universal suffrage, and equality for the minorities?

Mr. AHARONIAN. Yes, sir. It guaranteed all the basic freedoms.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Aharonian, what position did you occupy in the independent Armenian Government?

Mr. AHARONIAN. I was the district attorney of Erivan, the capital of Armenia. In fact, I was the district attorney who conducted the first jury trial in Armenia. We never had been permitted that before.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Just a moment. Did I understand you correctly to say that you, as the district attorney, conducted for the first time in 600 years a court trial in Armenia?

Mr. AHARONIAN. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Didn't they have any courts in Armenia previously?

Mr. AHARONIAN. Just 1 second. Since 1375, when the last Armenian state was conquered by the Egyptian Mamelukes, the Armenians fell under the yoke of foreign powers, divided between Turkey and Persia, and later on between Turkey and czarist Russia, and Armenians were, of course, judged, tried, by the Turkish, Russian, or Persian judges.

In czarist Russia, since 1862, Emperor Alexander II introduced the jury system of trial in Russia, but not in Trans-Caucasia because the Russian Government thought that Armenians, Georgians, and so forth, were not enough civilized to have a jury trial. We were not trusted.

We were tried by the judge sent from Russia and they alone judged us.

Therefore, for the first time in centuries we established a jury trial in Armenia in 1919, and I was happy enough to be the first district attorney who conducted that trial in the Armenian language and, if you will permit me, I will say a couple of words about it.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Is it true the Armenians were considered by the Russians as not of sufficient intellectual ability to try their own kinsmen?

Mr. AHARONIAN. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. That is very strange, alien, and foreign to fundamental justice as we know it.

Mr. AHARONIAN. Well, the Russians didn't trust us. They thought that any Armenian—no Armenian would condemn his compatriot even if he is guilty; no Georgian will condemn his compatriot if he is on the jury. So they sent Russian judges and they always tried us in the Russian language. We had to use a translator and be tried by a Russian judge.

And the concept of justice was that you are guilty unless you could prove that you were not, just the opposite of the Anglo-Saxon concept of justice—you are not guilty until proved guilty.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Hasn't that been the concept of Russia all along, that you are presumed to be guilty unless you can prove your innocence?

Mr. AHARONIAN. Yes, it was true in the czarist regime and it is true right now.

Mr. FEIGHAN. And the opportunity for proving yourself innocent is less than 0.56 of 1 percent, or, in fact, it is practically negligible?

Mr. AHARONIAN. I didn't get you.

Mr. FEIGHAN. I said that in Russia the chances of a person accused proving himself to be innocent is about 0.56 of 1 percent, or, in other words, practically negligible.

Mr. AHARONIAN. That is right.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you proceed?

Mr. AHARONIAN. It was very peculiar, the first time we had such a court trial. The first case I conducted, an Armenian, a young man, was condemned. His father was late in getting to court. The verdict was already announced, and then the father came and asked, "What about the verdict?" The answer was, "Your son is convicted." "How was the verdict read, in Russian or Armenian?" "In Armenian." "Thank God, I am glad he is convicted, as long as the verdict was read in Armenian."

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Of course, you don't mean, do you, Mr. Aharonian, that every person charged under the Soviet system is given a trial? There are many that are condemned and punished without even the benefit of any trial, is that right?

Mr. AHARONIAN. That is true.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is all.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you have any further questions?

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you in Armenia at the time of the Bolshevik takeover of Armenia?

Mr. AHARONIAN. I left the same day when the Bolsheviks entered Erivan. I left with my friends, members of Parliament and the Government—and despite promises of the Communists to let us leave the country if we wanted to, they tried to stop us two times, the first day and the second.

The second day we were stopped by a regiment of soldiers which was already under the orders of the Communist commissar, but we were armed, all of us, and we fought our way out of Armenia.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where did you go after you left Armenia?

Mr. AHARONIAN. I went to Georgia, which was still independent. Through Georgia I made my way to Constantinople, and then to Paris, to join my father who was president of the Armenian delegation to the Peace Conference in 1918, 1919, and 1920. In 1920 he signed the Treaty of Sevres with England, France, Italy, and others, for the independence of Armenia.

Mr. McTIGUE. Your father was one of the signers?

Mr. AHARONIAN. He was the president of the delegation, and at the same time he was the president of the first Armenian Parliament.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you eventually emigrate to the United States?

Mr. AHARONIAN. I landed in New York on October 6, 1923. I came from France.

Mr. McTIGUE. And since you have been in the United States, you have been engaged in journalism, is that correct?

Mr. AHARONIAN. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where are you teaching at the present time?

Mr. AHARONIAN. I teach in public school 144 at Forest Hills, Long Island.

Mr. McTIGUE. Which public school?

Mr. AHARONIAN. Public school 144, and in an Armenian Church on East 27th Street. There is a classroom for children, and I teach there 3 days in that school and 2 days in Forest Hills.

Mr. McTIGUE. Thank you.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Aharonian. We appreciate immensely the contribution you have made to our hearings.

Mr. AHARONIAN. I am sorry to have been late.

Mr. FEIGHAN. We are certainly very glad to have had the opportunity of hearing you.

The subcommittee will recess until 2:30. We will convene here.

(Thereupon at 1:25 p. m. an adjournment was taken until 2:30 p. m.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. FEIGHAN. The subcommittee will now come to order.

This afternoon we will hear witnesses who will tell the story of the illegal seizure by the Russian Communists of the once free and independent nation of Georgia, one of the many non-Russian nations within the U. S. S. R. which have been subjugated and enslaved, and which today are held captive by the Russian Communists.

Mr. Counsel, will you please call the first witness?

Mr. McTIGUE. The first witness, Mr. Chairman, is Mr. Leon Dumbadze.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you state your name, please?

Mr. DUMBADZE. Leon Dumbadze.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you raise your right hand? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help your God?

Mr. DUMBADZE. I do.

TESTIMONY OF LEON DUMBADZE

Mr. McTIGUE. Where are you presently residing?

Mr. DUMBADZE. New York City.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you born in Georgia?

Mr. DUMBADZE. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. When?

Mr. DUMBADZE. 1902.

Mr. McTIGUE. You are president of the National Association of Georgians in the United States, is that right, Mr. Dumbadze?

Mr. DUMBADZE. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. The independent Georgian Republic was established in 1918, is that correct?

Mr. DUMBADZE. May 26.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did it at the time it was established formalize a constitution?

Mr. DUMBADZE. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Do you happen to have a copy of that constitution?

Mr. DUMBADZE. I have the constitution here. I can give you a copy of it. The constitution was patterned after the Constitution of the United States, with the same basic freedoms.

Mr. FEIGHAN. A guaranty of the basic freedoms of speech, religion, assembly, press?

Mr. DUMBADZE. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Of a trial by jury?

Mr. DUMBADZE. That is right.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Equality of sexes?

Mr. DUMBADZE. That is right.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Guaranty for the secret ballot?

Mr. DUMBADZE. Secret ballot, political equality of sexes, and even including social security.

Mr. FEIGHAN. And a parliamentary form of government?

Mr. DUMBADZE. A parliamentary form of government.

Mr. McTIGUE. At this junction, Mr. Chairman, may I suggest that the Constitution of the independent Republic of Georgia which has been testified to by the witness be marked for identification and admitted into the record as "Exhibit NR 39"?

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I was just wondering, for the record, could you tell us how the independent Georgian Republic was established in May 1918?

Mr. DUMBADZE. Yes. In order to fully understand the Georgian question and the plight of the Georgian people, I think it would be helpful if you would permit me to outline a little bit of history.

Mr. McTIGUE. It is my understanding, Mr. Chairman, that the witness has prepared a statement with respect to the independent Georgian Republic which was established in 1918 and if there are no objections, may I suggest that he be permitted to read it.

Mr. FEIGHAN. There are no objections. Please proceed.

Mr. DUMBADZE. I will have to take a little time. I will be as brief as possible. As you know, it is impossible to put a thousand years of Georgian history into a few years, but I won't take too much time.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Please proceed.

Mr. DUMBADZE. Georgia is situated in Transcaucasia between the Black and the Caspian Sea. It is separated from the North Caucasus by the Caucasian Mountain chain, which extends a thousand miles from the Black Sea to the Caspian, and rises in some places—as do the peaks of the Elbruz and Kasbek—to a height of 18,000 feet.

The population numbers about 4 million. The capital city, Tbilisi (Tiflis), which was founded in the fifth century by King Vakhtang, now has more than 600,000 inhabitants. Georgia is a country of virtually complete literacy and considered to be one of the oldest civilized countries of the ancient world.

The Greek mythology is full of references to Georgia. The invention of the Georgian national script, which is underived from the Greek or Latin, but may be related to some scripts of Indian or the Far East, dates from the fourth century B. C.

The development of Georgian national culture proceeded unhindered within the confines of the Graeco-Roman world and Georgia became one of the most important centers of European civilization in the Near East. Relations with Rome became so intimate, that the Georgian kings exercised a considerable influence on Roman foreign policy.

After the decline of Rome, Georgia had even closer relations with the Byzantine Empire, which carried on the Graeco-Roman tradi-

tion. In the beginning of the fourth century, King Mirian of Georgia declared Christianity the state religion and thereby associated his kingdom forever with the Christian Europe.

From the fourth century until our times, Georgia was almost uninterruptedly engaged in the defense of her freedom and faith. Despite this constant warfare, Georgia remained an important political factor in the Near East and in the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries was one of the most powerful and certainly the most civilized state there. This was the golden age of Georgian history. Georgia then comprised the whole of Transcaucasia from the Black Sea to the Caspian and stretched far south into the Asia Minor.

During the Crusades, Georgia independently carried on a long and arduous fight against the foes of Christendom. At the battle of Didgori in 1121, King David II, named the Restorer, defeated a powerful Islamic coalition and rendered an invaluable service to the western knighthood fighting in Syria and Palestine.

It was under Queen Tamar the Great (1183-1213) that Georgia reached the apogee of her power and cultural development. The population of her empire reached 12 million, an enormous number for those days, and the brilliant culture of Georgia was unsurpassed in the East or in the West. The great cultural movement known as Renaissance began in Georgia centuries before it came to western Europe. The liberty of individuals and nations, brotherhood and friendship, abolition of slavery, social justice, charity toward the unfortunates, equality of sexes—these were the concepts in which the Georgians of Tamar's days believed.

In the 13th century the Mongols came, and with them came desolation. The country was devastated, the population decimated, the most valuable cultural monuments laid in ruin, and the political unity destroyed. The Mongol invasions were the greatest catastrophe ever suffered by the Georgian people, but even the Mongols were unable to wipe out Georgia, and in the 15th century the people began to recover and rebuild.

From the 16th century onward Georgia was again beset by enemies. Persia, mighty once more, and the Turkish Empire were incessantly trying to get possession of Georgia and the whole Caucasia.

The significant fact is that, in spite of incessant attacks by much more numerous and powerful foes, Georgia never was completely conquered. In spite of overwhelming odds, the Georgians managed to bring intact to our days their language, faith, and proud traditions. And she won the great respect of her foes.

The Mongol, Persian, and Turkish attacks forced the Georgian kings to seek assistance from the Christian sovereigns of Western Europe. The help so sorely needed was never forthcoming, and so finally Georgia was forced to turn to Russia, with which she shared a common religion—the Greek Orthodox.

In 1783 King Heraclius II concluded a treaty with Catherine II of Russia. This treaty forced Georgia to accept Russian protectorate and to agree to form no pact or alliance with any other power. In return Russia guaranteed the continuance of the Georgian independence, the absolute security of the Bagrationi dynasty and all the national institutions, the independence of the Georgian Church, preservation of the Georgian language, and military aid against all enemies.

In 1795, after desperate fighting, Persia took Tbilisi by assault and destroyed the ancient capital of Georgia. The enemy was driven out next year, but the country was left weak and powerless. Russia did not send a single soldier to their aid.

In 1801, 18 years after the treaty was signed, Russia violated it. Her troops annexed eastern Georgia and proclaimed her a part of the Russian Empire. The Georgian royal dynasty was deposed and its members, together with all the leading political figures of the country, deported to Russia without the right to return to Georgia. In 1811 the independence of the Georgian Church was abolished as well, and in the following decades the whole of Georgia was occupied and annexed.

Thus, Russia, having come in the guise of a friend and protector, destroyed the independence of an ancient Christian state and converted it into provinces of Russia.

It was natural that a nation with the proud fighting traditions of the Georgians could not accept as final the loss of its political and national freedom. From 1801 until the First World War 28 armed revolts took place in Georgia. With equal energy, other Caucasian peoples fought against Russian domination. It took Russia over 60 years of hard fighting until she finally managed to get all of Caucasasia into her hands. In this unequal struggle Georgia and her Caucasian neighbors were finally forced to bear the yoke of Russian despotism.

At the end of the First World War, Georgia, taking advantage of the Russian Revolution of March 1917, reestablished the autocephaly of her church and subsequently on May 26, 1918, her political independence, thus finally rejoining the community of free peoples.

The independence of Georgia was recognized *de facto* and *de jure* by the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers—Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, and subsequently by other powers. The independence of Georgia was recognized by Soviet Russia in 1920. On May 7 of that year it concluded a nonaggression and friendship pact with the Georgian Government.

Nine months after the signing of this agreement, Soviet Russia attacked Georgia without declaration of war and, after a hard fight against the small nation, which valiantly defended its new liberty, conquered it. In 1921 Georgia was again incorporated into Russia.

Thus, for the second time in the period from 1801 to 1921, Russia destroyed Georgian independence by deceit, by treaty violation, and by force.

The Russian-Bolshevik reign of terror began in Georgia immediately after the conquest of 1921. Members of the Government and of the legislative body and a great many of the intelligentsia left Georgia and took up residence in Western Europe. The reign of terror in Georgia (and in the entire Caucasus) has now lasted for more than 33 years.

Georgia was no more reconciled to the second Russian domination than to the first. Within the country secret organizations were formed, led by veteran combatants. In 1924 a great uprising broke out, but in the unequal struggle it was suppressed with over 7,000 Georgians executed and more than 20,000 deported.

This was the first large-scale blood bath with many others to come. Between 1921 and 1941 the number of executed passed 60,000 and those deported 200,000. And this in a country of just over 4 million inhabitants.

The free world supported Georgia in its endeavor to free itself from the Russian Bolshevik yoke, but unfortunately only morally. It protested against the destruction of independent Georgia, but without being able to proceed actively against the Bolsheviks. Resolutions by the League of Nations and the governments of various countries expressed sympathy.

The Fifth Assembly of the League expressed the greatest sympathy for the Georgian people who were so valiantly fighting for freedom. The signatures of the English, French, and Belgian delegates headed this declaration. This was after the great Georgian uprising against Bolshevism in 1924.

In 1926 the House of Representatives of the United States, at the suggestion of Mr. R. Walton Moore, of Virginia, moved for the appointment of a special committee to examine the Georgian question. By decision of the House, the data compiled were published in Washington in book form. The final decision of the committee was to empower the President of the United States to name a diplomatic representative to the Georgian Government in Paris at such time as he might deem advisable.

Thus was the Georgian question seen in Europe and America. The Georgian Legation in Paris functioned as the official representative of independent Georgia until January 1933, proof of the Western Powers' refusal to recognize Russian Bolshevik might in Georgia.

Unfortunately, neither the bloody battles and sacrifices of Georgian patriots, nor the sympathy of the civilized world were able to save Georgia from the Bolshevik hell. The country clearly recognized that only some colossal world event, capable of destroying the Bolshevik regime, could lead to its deliverance. The establishment of the Georgian State at the end of the First World War was only made possible because a foreign power—Germany—had conquered Russia.

The Georgian people and the political emigrants in Europe had always known that Russia would at some time again be involved in war with one—possibly with a coalition of Western Powers. There was hope that, at the end of the Second World War, the same objective might be reached as had been attained at the end of the first—that Georgia might reestablish representative democratic government according to her own enlightened constitution.

The hope of the Georgians of reestablishing their lost freedom and independence has, unhappily, not yet been fulfilled. The Second World War has long since ended, and still Georgians, Ukrainians, Armenians, and countless others remain in subjection.

They all long for the restoration of their political rights, destroyed by Russia, and for the rights of man, destroyed by communism. There are no more bitter enemies of communism than the non-Russian peoples inhabiting the Soviet Union. The free world has no truer allies in the struggle against the Communist world conspiracy. For three decades, unaided, they have been carrying on a desperate, heroic struggle against the arch enemy of mankind. Surely, the time has come when they should be given the encouragement and help which they so richly deserve and to which they have every right.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Dumbadze, following the establishment of the independent Georgian Republic in 1918, what nations of the world recognized the Georgian Republic?

Mr. DUMBADZE. I have a list of all the nations that extended recognition, and I can give you the chronological dates. It was recognized on January 27, 1921, by the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers—Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and Belgium. Poland, on January 28, 1921; Rumania, February 18, 1921; Austria, February 17, 1921; Luxemburg, February 23, 1921; Haiti, March 9, 1921; Liberia, March 28, 1921; Mexico, April 14, 1921; Panama, August 26, 1921; Siam, November 20, 1921; Czechoslovakia, April 8, 1921. Also by the Turkish Government, June 3, 1918; the Argentine Government, September 13, 1919; the Soviet Russian Government, May 7, 1920; the German Government, September 24, 1920.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did I understand you to include the United States in the list of nations that recognized the Georgian Republic?

Mr. DUMBADZE. No; the United States never recognized it. I didn't include the United States in the list of countries. I said before the matter of recognition was before the Congress in 1926.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Dumbadze, while you are on that subject, would you, if you have it here, please identify the report by the congressional committee to which you have referred, with reference to the investigation of the case of Georgia?

Mr. DUMBADZE. It is book published by the Senate, covering hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 69th Congress, 1st session, under House Joint Resolution 195, providing for the appointment of a diplomatic representative to the National Republic of Georgia; the report is dated February 1 and 2, 1926. Statements of Mr. John A. Stewart, New York City; Mr. Vasili D. Dumbadze; Mr. Henry G. Opdycke, New York City.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Dumbadze, you read off three names of the witnesses who testified at those hearings. One of them was Mr. Dumbadze.

Mr. DUMBADZE. Yes; I am a relative of his. He was the Georgian representative to the United States.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Georgian representative to the United States?

Mr. DUMBADZE. Yes; the representative from the Georgian Government to the United States.

Mr. McTIGUE. Was he—

Mr. DUMBADZE. He came here for the sole purpose of trying to get a hearing in the Senate on the matter of recognition of Georgia.

Mr. McTIGUE. He didn't have the rank of an Ambassador or Minister since formal recognition had not been extended to the Republic of Georgia; is that correct?

Mr. DUMBADZE. That is right.

Mr. McTIGUE. He was, however, delegated by the Republic of Georgia to the United States in order to secure formal recognition?

Mr. DUMBADZE. He was officially delegated by the Republic of Georgia.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did there come a time, Mr. Dumbadze, when Georgia entered into a treaty with Russia?

Mr. DUMBADZE. Yes; it was May 7, 1920, and I can quote you the paragraph from the treaty.

Mr. McTIGUE. The main provisions?

Mr. DUMBADZE (reading):

Russia recognizes without reservations the independence and sovereignty of the Georgian State, and voluntarily renounces all sovereign rights which belong to Russia with respect to the Georgian people and territory.

Based on the principles proclaimed in the foregoing article I, Russia agrees to renounce all intervention in the internal affairs of Georgia.

This was an excerpt from the treaty. That is the main part of the treaty.

Mr. McTIGUE. After entering into that treaty with the Republic of Georgia, did there come a time thereafter when the Russians attacked Georgia?

Mr. DUMBADZE. Nine months after that treaty was signed the Russians engaged in an unprovoked attack on Georgia.

Mr. McTIGUE. What happened? Did war follow?

Mr. DUMBADZE. The war followed. It would, naturally. The Georgian nation wasn't prepared, but they defended themselves as well as they could. But the young nation did not have sufficient time to prepare itself, so finally they were conquered.

Mr. McTIGUE. What was the date on which war broke out between Russia and Georgia?

Mr. DUMBADZE. In 1921, I believe in the month of February.

Mr. McTIGUE. And how long did the war last?

Mr. DUMBADZE. It only lasted a few weeks.

Mr. McTIGUE. Thereafter, then, the Bolsheviks occupied Georgia; is that correct?

Mr. DUMBADZE. Occupied all of Georgia.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did the Georgian people resist the Bolshevik occupation?

Mr. DUMBADZE. I should say so. They resisted by starting the uprising in 1921, in 1922, and in a general uprising of 1924. There were uprisings in 1927, 1931, 1932, and 1947, and up to this day they are resisting the Russian occupation of Georgia.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Dumbadze, did the Georgian people give any indication that they accepted this alien regime?

Mr. DUMBADZE. No, I should say they did not. The uprisings I mentioned are very good proof of that. The Georgian peasants in 1931, 1933 revolted against collectivization, the collectivized farm.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Dumbadze, would you tell us how the religious life of the Georgians fared under bolshevism?

Mr. DUMBADZE. Well, the significant fact about the religion is that after the Bolshevik occupation, not a single clergyman, or Georgian priest left the country. They all stayed with the people. So persecution started.

They were arrested without cause. They were tortured, executed without a trial and they even dared to arrest the head of the Georgian Church, the Patriarch Ambrossi in 1921. He was then imprisoned.

He was very much revered and loved by the Georgian people. After the medical profession told the NKVD officials or butchers, I would say, that the days of Ambrossi were numbered, they got him out of the jail and gave him a public trial.

And at that trial, the words that the Patriarch Ambrossi said will never be forgotten by any Georgian. He told the NKVD officials that "My soul belongs to God, my heart to my country, and you, my execu-

tioners, do as you will with my body." Those were the last words of Patriarch Ambrossi.

Mr. FEIGHAN. In other words, Mr. Dumbadze, the record of the dealings between Georgia and Russia in 1920 are the same as between Georgia and the Russian Czarists in 1801?

Mr. DUMBADZE. That is right.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Namely, a treaty of friendship and mutual assistance made by the Russians with the Georgians?

Mr. DUMBADZE. Identical. The same.

Mr. FEIGHAN. And that gave the Russians a little foothold and immediately after they violated that treaty.

Mr. DUMBADZE. That is right.

Mr. FEIGHAN. And in reality they seize the country which they have pledged by treaty to respect and live in peaceful coexistence with.

Mr. DUMBADZE. That is right. That is Russian peaceful coexistence.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Dumbadze, what in your opinion do the Georgian people aspire to today?

Mr. DUMBADZE. Well, as you know, from 1918 to 1921 they were independent, they had their own government, and they flourished as a state. So naturally their only aspirations which I believe they will always have will be to be free of the foreign oppressors, and the Communistic tyranny and to be again independent.

Mr. FEIGHAN. The Georgians, indeed, have shown an indomitable spirit for independence and freedom through these many, many centuries.

Mr. DUMBADZE. They certainly have.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Machrowicz, have you any questions?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Just one question. What is the official language of the Georgian Republic or what was the Georgian Republic?

Mr. DUMBADZE. Georgian.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And that is not akin to the Russian language?

Mr. DUMBADZE. Nothing similar. We are not a Slavic nation, nothing similar between us.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What is the origin?

Mr. DUMBADZE. The origin of the Georgian language is not known. It was spoken approximately four centuries B. C. It is unrelated either to Latin or Greek or other basic languages. It might be derived from Indian, or Sanskrit, or some Near East language. Nobody knows. It is very old.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I would like to ask a question which might be embarrassing to you. Stalin was a native of Georgia?

Mr. DUMBADZE. It doesn't embarrass me, because there are renegades in every country.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Was he a native of Russia?

Mr. DUMBADZE. He was a native of Georgia—Georgian father and Georgian mother.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You don't claim credit for him?

Mr. DUMBADZE. I don't claim credit and neither does any other self-respecting Georgian. We had a few, like Beria and Stalin.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Beria was also a Georgian?

Mr. DUMBADZE. Yes, Beria was also a Georgian. So we were happy to repay Russia, everything she did to us over the centuries by sending Stalin to Russia, and by giving them Beria.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you have any questions?

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Dumbadze, I hand you a copy of a document which is entitled, "Treaty, May 7, 1920, Between the Democratic Republic of Georgia and the Russian Socialist Soviet Federative Republic," and I ask you if you can identify this as being a true copy of the treaty between Georgia and Russia.

Mr. DUMBADZE. Yes, I acknowledge that this is a true copy of the treaty between Soviet Russia and the Republic of Georgia.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I ask, Mr. Chairman, that this be marked for identification and admitted into the record as New York exhibit NR 39-A?

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, it will be so ordered.

Do you have any further questions?

Mr. McTIGUE. I have no further questions.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Dumbadze. You have made a real contribution to these hearings, and we appreciate very much your presence and the testimony which you have given.

Your next witness, please.

Mr. McTIGUE. The next witness, Mr. Chairman, is Mr. Simeon Kobiashvili.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Would you state your name, please?

Mr. KOBIASHVILI. Simeon Kobiashvili.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you raise your right hand? Do you understand the oath?

Mr. KOBIASHVILI. Yes; I do.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. KOBIASHVILI. I do.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Please be seated. Mr. Kobiashvili, it is my understanding that you may need an interpreter?

Mr. KOBIASHVILI. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Please be seated and we will swear in the interpreter. Would you state your name, please?

Mr. KAY. Nicholas Kay.

Mr. FEIGHAN. You will act as interpreter for the witness?

Mr. KAY. Yes, sir; I will.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you raise your right hand, please? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony which you will translate from English to Georgian and from Georgian to English will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. KAY. I do.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Counsel, please proceed.

TESTIMONY OF SIMEON KOBIASHVILI, THROUGH THE INTERPRETER, NICHOLAS KAY

Mr. McTIGUE. Where are you presently residing, Mr. Kobiashvili?

Mr. KOBIASHVILI. I live in Whitestone, Long Island.

Mr. McTIGUE. In what capacity are you employed?

Mr. KOBIASHVILI. I am working in the United States Information Agency, the Voice of America, as a translator-announcer.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you born?

Mr. KOBIAHVILI. I was born in the village of Ashadani, Georgia, in 1902, the 28th of July.

Mr. MCTIGUE. How long did you live in Georgia?

Mr. KOBIAHVILI. I lived in Georgia until March 1921.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Were you living in Georgia at the time it acquired its national independence in 1918?

Mr. KOBIAHVILI. Yes; I lived in Georgia at the time when the independence of Georgia was proclaimed.

Mr. MCTIGUE. How old were you at that time?

Mr. KOBIAHVILI. I was 16 years old at that time.

Mr. MCTIGUE. How did the people of your age feel about the independence of Georgia?

Mr. KOBIAHVILI. The whole population of Georgia, especially the young people, were extremely patriotic and welcomed the independence of Georgia, the declaration of independence.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Were you in Georgia at the time the Soviet troops invaded the country?

Mr. KOBIAHVILI. I was in Georgia and took part in two wars against Soviet Russia, the first which was not successful, and the second, when they had occupied the country.

Mr. MCTIGUE. What was the date of the occupation of Georgia by the Soviet?

Mr. KOBIAHVILI. The Russians invaded Georgia on February 11, 1921. The official fighting came to an end toward the end of March 1921.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Did the Georgian Government protest this invasion to the Russian Government?

Mr. KOBIAHVILI. Immediately upon the beginning of the war, the Georgian Government protested to Moscow, but received no reply.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Had there been an ultimatum issued by the Russian Government prior to the invasion?

Mr. KOBIAHVILI. There was no ultimatum whatsoever. The invasion began without any provocation or without any notice.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Were the Russian Soviet troops that invaded Georgia made up of soldiers from all the nations within the U. S. S. R.?

Mr. KOBIAHVILI. During the first invasion, and the second and final invasion, there was not one single non-Russian soldier fighting against Georgia. All the troops that fought against Georgia were entirely Russians brought down especially from Russia.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Why didn't they have units of non-Russians fighting with the Russian Army?

Mr. KOBIAHVILI. After the invasion and occupation of Georgia, the Soviets for a time formed units of non-Russians, of Georgians and Azerbaijanians. However, this did not last long, and after a while these were abolished as well, but during the invasion they had no non-Russian units whatsoever.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Why do you think they did not? Do you think the reason was that these non-Russians had no desire to support the armed aggression engaged in by the Russian nation?

Mr. KOBIAHVILI. In my opinion, even if they had non-Russians in their army, these non-Russians would not have fought at all and immediately would have left them and come over to our side. Therefore, it is natural, the Communists wouldn't use them.

Mr. FEIGHAN. After the Bolsheviks took over Georgia, what kind of people did they put in the key positions of Government?

Mr. KOBIAASHVILI. First of all, the head of Government of Georgia was a man brought down from Moscow. A few of the Government officials were Georgian Communists, but the majority were Russians, and the majority of those were criminal element. Some of them were simply taken out of prisons and put to work.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Did the Bolsheviks first try to subvert the Georgian Government and to take over power from within, and if so, how did they attempt to do that?

Mr. KOBIAASHVILI. First of all, the Communists attempted an open invasion. This was in April and May 1920. Besides that, they also used terroristic agents in Tiflis, and by means of these terroristic agents, they tried to get hold of the Government. And for this, they used exclusively criminal element, that is, just ordinary criminals. They were murderers, and so forth.

I would like to point out especially one occasion when the Communists tried to get hold of power in Georgia. In 1920, when they invaded Georgia, and while all the troops were at the front fighting, they staged an abortive sort of uprising in Tblisi, and as the only military unit at that time in Tblisi was the military school, at which I was a student, they attempted to get hold of the school, disarm all the cadet officers, and thus get hold of the town.

Mr. McTIGUE. After the invasion of Georgia, did Georgia enter into a truce with the Bolsheviks?

Mr. KOBIAASHVILI. After the first attempt of the Russians to take hold of Georgia by means of military invasion—

Mr. McTIGUE. When was that, what date?

Mr. KOBIAASHVILI. That was April and May 1920—the Russians were repulsed. The Georgian Army threw them out of the country. And then the Soviets came to an agreement with the Georgian Government and signed a treaty with them.

Mr. McTIGUE. Was this treaty observed by the Russians?

Mr. KOBIAASHVILI. Russia did not honor the provisions of the treaty; 9 months later she invaded Georgia from 4 directions. They sent very powerful units against Georgia from the direction of Azerbaijan, which was by that time already occupied by the Communists, and from North Caucasia, across the Caucasian Mountains.

Mr. McTIGUE. How long did the war between Georgia and Russia last?

Mr. KOBIAASHVILI. The actual war began on the 11th of February and came to an end—

Mr. McTIGUE. Of what year?

Mr. KOBIAASHVILI. Of 1921 and came to an end on March 17, the same year. That was the war in which the regular Georgian Army took part. But on March 17, the Georgian Government fled to Europe, and the fighting by the Georgians continued, not by a regular army, but by partisan tactics, guerrillas, and this struggle went on for years; there has been no end to it.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you remain in Georgia after the Russian troops occupied Georgia?

Mr. KOBIAASHVILI. I was a cadet student of a military academy which was ordered by the Georgian Government to leave the country. So I

left the country on the 17th of March 1921, proceeded to Turkey, and later to Greece and Poland.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you eventually emigrate to the United States?

Mr. KOBIAHVILI. I came to this country on the 14th of October 1949.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were admitted to this country under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948?

Mr. KOBIAHVILI. I came here as an ordinary displaced person from Germany.

Mr. McTIGUE. I have no further questions.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Kobiasvili, did the Georgian Army try to liberate Armenia and Azerbaijan, which had recently been occupied by the Bolsheviks?

Mr. KOBIAHVILI. In 1920, when the Russians first tried to occupy Georgia, the Georgian Army managed to stop them, throw them back, and then the Georgian General Staff had a plan of continuing the war and liberating neighboring Armenia and Azerbaijan and throwing the Russians back over the Caucasian Mountains.

Georgia had sufficient troops for that and sufficient means. The Georgian General Staff thought that they would be able to do it. However, the Georgians were stopped from continuing the war against the Russian Bolsheviks by the insistence of the western powers.

Mr. McTIGUE. What year was this?

Mr. KOBIAHVILI. That was in 1920.

Mr. McTIGUE. That was prior to the first invasion?

Mr. KOBIAHVILI. No; that was during the first invasion.

Mr. McTIGUE. And it was during this year that the truce was signed with the Soviets which later was broken by the Soviets?

Mr. KOBIAHVILI. Absolutely.

Mr. McTIGUE. And Georgia was permanently occupied by the Russian forces?

Mr. KOBIAHVILI. Yes. I want to make a factual correction. When I left Georgia I was 19, not 17.

Mr. FEIGHAN. In other words, Georgia wanted not only to defend the freedom of the Georgians, but also to help the other Caucasian nations to get out from under the yoke of tyranny and despotism of the Russian Communists?

Mr. KOBIAHVILI. We Georgians recognized that if we were to keep our own independence our neighbors should also be independent, too, and if we have a right to national independence and a free life, so had they. We always recognized that and that is why we have always tried to help them in any way we could. And on that particular occasion, 1920, we tried to help them in any way we could.

Mr. FEIGHAN. You realize, I am sure, that if we are to have permanent peace throughout the world we will not have it until all nations, however large or small, have their own national independence and freedom.

Mr. KOBIAHVILI. I agree entirely with that statement, and I would like to add that not only we here understand that, but that likewise the people who are suffering today under Soviet tyranny understand it as well. We have contacts within the Soviet Union, and we know from reliable reports that people there think exactly the same way,

and they are even today trying to gather their forces in order to overthrow the tyranny which is present.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Machrowicz?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. No questions.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Counsel?

Mr. McTIGUE. It is my understanding, Mr. Chairman, that the witness has prepared and executed a statement which covers more of the details than he was able to go into in his testimony at this time. And if there are no objections, may I suggest that the statement be marked for identification and admitted as "New York exhibit NR 40"?

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, it will be so ordered.

(The statement referred to was marked "New York Exhibit No. NR 40.")

Mr. FEIGHAN. I wish to thank you very much, Mr. Kobiashvili, for the testimony that you have given and the contribution that you have made to these hearings.

Thank you.

Mr. McTIGUE. The next witness, Mr. Chairman, is Mr. Tzomaia.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you state your name, please?

Mr. TZOMAIA. Alexander Tzomaia.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you raise your right hand? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. TZOMAIA. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ALEXANDER TZOMAIA, THROUGH THE INTERPRETER, NICHOLAS KAY

Mr. McTIGUE. Where are you presently residing, Mr. Tzomaia?

Mr. TZOMAIA. In New York.

Mr. McTIGUE. What is your address?

Mr. TZOMAIA. 1335 Madison Avenue, New York City.

Mr. McTIGUE. In what capacity are you employed at the present time?

Mr. TZOMAIA. I am employed as a factory worker.

Mr. McTIGUE. In New York City?

Mr. TZOMAIA. In New York City.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you born, Mr. Tzomaia, and when?

Mr. TZOMAIA. I was born in the town of Kutaisi, in 1907.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is Tiflis a city in Georgia?

Mr. TZOMAIA. Yes. Tiflis is the Russian form of the Georgian word Tblisi. The Georgian word is Tblisi, which means warm spring, but the Russians changed it to Tiflis, and that has been accepted in Europe and everywhere else.

Mr. McTIGUE. And that is the name by which it is known now; is that correct?

Mr. TZOMAIA. No; it is Tblisi. It is known as Tblisi now.

Mr. McTIGUE. Well, at the time it was known as Tiflis before the Russians changed the name; is that correct?

Mr. TZOMAIA. No, sir; it was known as Tblisi, and then after the Russian occupation it was known as Tiflis, but then it was changed back again to Tblisi.

Mr. McTIGUE. When you were in Georgia, were you living in the city of Tiflis?

Mr. TZOMAIA. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And its name has since been changed to Tblisi?

Mr. TZOMAIA. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. How do you spell that?

Mr. TZOMAIA. T-b-l-i-s-i.

Mr. McTIGUE. For the purposes of identification, suppose we refer to this city by its original name, Tblisi.

Mr. TZOMAIA. That is as it should be.

Mr. McTIGUE. At the time you were living in Tblisi, which we will use for the purposes of this examination, was the city occupied by the Russians?

Mr. TZOMAIA. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. When?

Mr. TZOMAIA. February 1921.

Mr. McTIGUE. What happened at that time? You were living there, the Russians occupied the city. Will you tell us something about it?

Mr. TZOMAIA. Yes. The Russian troops occupied Tblisi on the 25th of February 1921. The majority of the population left the town together with the retreating Georgian troops. However, many were compelled to remain. Myself and my family were among those. And I witnessed the entry of Russian troops in Tblisi.

It surprised me to see that although they were extremely well armed, they gave the impression of being sort of bandits more than regular army. They were dirty, unshaven, unkempt, and they behaved just like bandits would behave.

The first thing they did, they started to loot the town. Tblisi escaped the ravages of the Russian revolution and was about the only town untouched by the revolution up to that time. There were good shops, plenty of stuff in them, such as food and clothing.

The Russians began immediately looting. After all the shops were looted they started on private houses. For instance, they came into our house and looted it of absolutely everything they could carry away with them. Also there were many cases, of course, as is common among the Communists, of women being molested.

Mr. McTIGUE. How long did you remain in Tblisi after the Russian occupation?

Mr. TZOMAIA. Nine years.

Mr. McTIGUE. Following the Russian occupation, was there at any time a general uprising in the city or in the area?

Mr. TZOMAIA. Certainly. The Georgian people responded to this occupation by Russia in the same way as their ancestors responded to the Russian occupation in 1801, namely, by armed revolts. In the one century during which Georgia was a part of the Tzarist Russian Empire, there were 28 armed revolts in Georgia.

After the occupation by the Russian Communists the revolts started practically immediately. The first act of open resistance to the Communist rule was by the workers of Tblisi, which arranged protest meeting and demonstration and demanded restoration of the rights of man. They demanded, first, the restoration of the independence of Georgia. They demanded withdrawal of all Russian troops from the Georgian territory. They demanded the reestablishment of all the rights which the Georgians had before the Communist occupation, namely, the rights of free speech, assembly, press, trial, professional unions, the trade unions, and so forth.

Mr. FEIGHAN. In other words, they wanted all the rights that were set forth and guaranteed to them and which they had enjoyed under their own constitution?

Mr. TZOMAIA. Absolutely so; all the rights which were guaranteed to them by the Georgian Constitution, which were passed by the Georgian Parliament, and which was denied to them by the Communists.

Mr. FEIGHAN. How did the Communists deal with the Georgian nation after this uprising was put down?

Mr. TZOMAIA. I want to point out the fact that there wasn't only one uprising in Georgia. There were several which culminated finally in one nationwide uprising. This uprising, which at first was fairly successful, was naturally put down because of the overwhelming odds which were put up by the Russians against the Georgian insurgents.

Immediately after the insurrection was put down the Communists started persecuting everybody, regardless of whether they took part, actual active part in the insurrection or not. But, of course, it is impossible to state the exact number, but there must have been from 7,000 to 10,000 men and women executed in the first 3 days after the insurrection was put down, and at least 20,000 were sent away to Siberia.

I would like to add just one small note. I have here a list to show the inhumanity with which Communists treated the Georgian nation. I would like to show a list which was published officially by the Communists—they didn't hide it—in the Georgian press at the time and which describes the punishment meted to one of the Georgian villages in which families bearing the same name of Paniashvili were completely annihilated, and that included men, women, and small children. I would like, if it is possible, to present this to the committee.

Mr. FEIGHAN. This was published by the Communists in Georgia?

Mr. TZOMAIA. They not only published it, but they even boasted and they said, "That is what we are going to do to everybody who is going to act against us."

Mr. MCTIGUE. Mr. Witness, what publication was this extracted from?

Mr. TZOMAIA. This extract was published in the magazine called the Voice of Free Georgia, which appears in New York, but it was taken originally from the Kommunisti, which is the paper in the Georgian language appearing in Tblisi.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you know what date the Communist paper appeared in Georgia bearing this article which was translated?

Mr. TZOMAIA. I am not absolutely certain, but it is about September 20, 1924.

Mr. FEIGHAN. And what date was this article printed in the Voice of Free Georgia?

Mr. TZOMAIA. That was printed some time last year, sir.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Will you make this available to the committee, so that we may look it over and study it?

Mr. TZOMAIA. Certainly.

Mr. FEIGHAN. May I ask you this: Did you read the paper printed in Georgia yourself?

Mr. TZOMAIA. Not only did I read it, sir, but I even saw the photographs taken of that particular family, of all the massacred men,

women, and children, and this photograph, in later years, appeared in the French press and would probably be available.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Was the original paper which you read an official Russian paper?

Mr. TZOMAIA. The paper *Kommunisti* is the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia.

Mr. MCTIGUE. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that we admit this into the record, subject to the proper authentication, which will be undertaken as soon as possible?

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, it will be so ordered.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. FEIGHAN. You stated that you yourself read this article written by the Communists?

Mr. TZOMAIA. I am prepared to say it. I will take an oath to it.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you have a copy, an original copy of the paper available?

Mr. TZOMAIA. No, sir.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, I think at this point in the record, the record should show that the article shows the annihilation of adults and children, including 6 years old, 4 years old, 2½ years old; and one other family, 3 daughters, 5, 4, and 3 years old; and 1 other family, 4 children, 12, 7, 5, and 3 years old; and another family, 3 children, 9, 4, and 2 years old; another family, a daughter 14 years old.

I think the record ought to show that children were included.

Mr. TZOMAIA. I would like to offer an explanation perhaps why they treated them so severely was that a person with the name Paniashvili was one of the leaders of the insurrection, one of the local leaders of the insurrection.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mark this for presentation to the committee for its consideration.

Mr. MCTIGUE. We admit this as exhibit NR 41, subject to proper identification.

Mr. FEIGHAN. No objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Before the colloquy surrounding the newspaper item which you presented here, Mr. Tzomaia, you were testifying regarding the uprising which was put down by the Communists in Georgia.

You testified to the number of people who had died as a consequence of the uprising. Now, after this uprising was put down and after many thousands of Georgian people had been executed or transported to Siberia, did the Georgians give up after this? Did they give up the struggle?

Mr. TZOMAIA. No, sir, because even myself personally, only 9 months after the insurrection was put down, I was already a member of an underground organization, and that was not the only one in Georgia.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Why did you leave Georgia?

Mr. TZOMAIA. The organization with which I was working and which was conducting an anti-Communist campaign, anti-Communist work, was discovered by Communists. All the members of the organization, except myself, were arrested.

It happened this way. I happened to be away at the time the arrest took place, and I was notified in time, my brother managed to notify me that this arrest took place. I therefore went into hiding, and then appealed to other underground organizations which existed in

Georgia. They sent me from Tbhisi to the town called Batum, which is on the Turkish frontier.

There I was told to contact—and that is a very interesting fact—a Communist who held a high position in the Soviet judiciary in that town, and he, himself, personally arranged for my crossing into Turkey, helped me in every way, although he was posing as a Communist and held a high position.

Mr. McTIGUE. I want to go back for a moment to be sure the record is clear in this respect. When did the uprising start?

Mr. TZOMAIA. The actual fighting started at 6 o'clock in the morning on August 29, 1924.

Mr. McTIGUE. How long did the uprising last?

Mr. TZOMAIA. It depended on different districts in Georgia; it lasted different times in different districts. Some of them, for instance, where I myself was, we only held out for 3 days. On the third day they retook the town, but in other parts of Georgia, the fighting went on for weeks.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you eventually emigrate to the United States, Mr. Tzomaia?

Mr. TZOMAIA. May 13, 1952.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you come to the United States under the Displaced Persons Act?

Mr. TZOMAIA. Yes, I came here as a DP.

Mr. McTIGUE. You executed a statement in connection with your testimony here today?

Mr. TZOMAIA. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. It is my understanding that the witness has executed a statement which I desire to submit for the committee records. I suggest that this be marked for identification and entered into the record as New York exhibit NR 42.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Thank you very much, Mr. Tzomaia. The committee appreciates the contribution which you have made in regard to the success of these hearings.

Mr. McTIGUE. The next witness, Mr. Chairman, is Mr. Sangulia.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you state your name, please?

Mr. SANGULIA. Valerian Sangulia.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you please raise your right hand? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth so help you God?

Mr. SANGULIA. I do.

TESTIMONY OF VALERIAN SANGULIA, THROUGH THE INTERPRETER, NICHOLAS KAY

Mr. McTIGUE. Where are you presently residing, Mr. Sangulia?

Mr. SANGULIA. In New Jersey, North Bergen, 1408 37th Street.

Mr. McTIGUE. 1408 37th Street, North Bergen, N. J.?

Mr. SANGULIA. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. In what capacity are you employed at the present time?

Mr. SANGULIA. I am a factory worker.

Mr. McTIGUE. In North Bergen?

Mr. SANGULIA. Yes, sir.

MR. MCTIGUE. Where were you born and when?

MR. SANGULIA. I was born in the village of Gali, Georgia, in 1921.

MR. MCTIGUE. Were you brought up and educated in Georgia?

MR. SANGULIA. Yes, sir.

MR. MCTIGUE. What did your family do in Georgia?

MR. SANGULIA. My father was the priest of our parish.

MR. MCTIGUE. What denomination was that?

MR. SANGULIA. Greek Orthodox.

MR. FEIGHAN. Mr. Sangulia, having been reared in a family of which your father was a member of the clergy in the Orthodox Church, you probably are competent to tell us what happened to religion in Georgia under the Russian Communists after you grew up.

MR. SANGULIA. Not only from my father, but also from all his friends who were mostly priests. Ever since I was quite a young boy I always heard about the persecution of religion in my country.

MR. FEIGHAN. Did you have any personal experience of persecution of religion in Georgia?

MR. SANGULIA. Yes, sir; I had personal experience. I knew very well a friend of my father's by the name of Harebeva, who was not only beaten but tortured by Communists, and they tortured him this way: The Greek Orthodox priests always wear a beard. That is their distinguishing characteristic in Georgia. Anyone with a beard was a priest. The Communists burned it off him, actually while he was still alive, set fire to his beard and burned it and I was a witness to that.

When I was a small child at school, all I used to hear from Communists about religion was that religion is the opium of the people, is the poison of the people, that it is an invention of capitalists, imperialists, and its only reason is to suppress the poor.

And we were told when we were young children that every time we saw a priest, that is how we should look at him, as an enemy of the people.

MR. FEIGHAN. That is what you were told by the teachers in school?

MR. SANGULIA. Not only we were told so by the Communist teachers in the school, but they also told us that every time we saw a priest we should abuse them, and call them all sorts of names and tell them exactly what the Communists were teaching us.

About 2 years—I don't know exactly the date, but about 2 years after the insurrection, the Communists came to our house and took my father who was a priest away. My mother, my poor mother, ran after him and took me with her. I was only a small boy, but I still remember what happened.

The Communists first of all wanted to kill him. However, they didn't execute him then and there, but they abused and maltreated him terribly. They cut off all his religious vestments from him, they tore off his cross from him. Then they kicked him down on the ground and forcibly shaved his beard off, which was the greatest insult they could do.

MR. MCTIGUE. Do you know what the Communists did to the high clergy in Georgia?

MR. SANGULIA. Yes, sir, I know that all the high clergy of Georgia was persecuted right from the beginning. However, at first, they didn't dare to touch the head of the Georgian Church, who was a very venerated and very holy man, Catolicos Ambrossi. Catolicos Am-

brossi appealed later to the West for help. He sent a memorandum which described exactly the position of the Georgian people under the Communists.

Because of that he was arrested, but even then the Communists didn't dare to execute him, and they decided to bring him to public trial. The story of his public trial, of course, was headlined all through Georgia, because, as I said before, he was a very venerated man.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did the Georgian people maintain their religious faith despite persecution of religion under the Communists?

Mr. SANGULIA. Yes, sir, there is no doubt at all that the Georgian people have not only conserved the religious faith, but, on the contrary, because of the persecution, they even increased it.

I personally know of many cases when people used to come to my father, even after he ceased to be a priest, had no church and had no right whatsoever to perform any religious rite, people used to come to my father, usually at night, and asked him to perform some religious rite, either baptize a child or ask him to go and give the last rites to a dying man.

They used to do it very secretly. For instance, when they brought a child, we used to take him in the room and lock all the doors and all the windows and put the blinds down and hang blankets down, so nobody would be seen, and then quietly, my father would do the necessary rites.

And that was not just one or two occurrences, that went on all the time.

I would like to bring one example which is very characteristic and which shows how dangerous it was for the population to do anything like that. For instance, one day a woman brought her child to be baptized. We knew she was the wife of the local Communist boss who was a Captain Toria. Of course, she brought the child without her husband knowing anything at all about it.

My father baptized the child, but shortly, perhaps a few days or a few weeks later, the fact became known. Well, not only the woman herself, but her husband as well were arrested, kicked out of the Communist Party and then he was sent away somewhere and disappeared. Even that he himself was a Communist did not help him—only just the fact that his wife had a child baptized was the issue.

I would like to point out, besides persecuting the clergy, the Communists also destroyed practically all Georgian churches and monasteries. As you may know, the Georgian Church dates from the beginning of the fourth century. During all these centuries, the Georgians defended their faith and there was a tremendous number of monasteries, cathedrals, churches all over Georgia.

The Communists started right from the first, as soon as they occupied Georgia they started destroying it. First of all, either they took them out—for instance, the cathedral in Tblisi, was destroyed. Or they converted them into clubs, or as animal stables—in fact, desecrated them as much as they could.

One particular example which I can cite, they took a cross off a very famous and old cathedral and put Lenin's statue on the top of it, Lenin's bust on the top, instead of the cross.

I would like to add one fact. Out of the thousands and thousands of churches in Georgia, in 1922 there were only about 1,500 left. That

was stated in the memorandum which Catolicos Ambrossi sent abroad. And the interesting fact is that after the Second World War, in 1949 or 1950, a well known journalist, named Salisbury, who was in Tblisi and spoke to the present Catolicos, was told by him that the total number of churches in Georgia today doesn't exceed 100.

Besides destroying churches and desecrating them, the Communists, of course, looted every church of all the treasure which had been accumulated over the centuries. The Georgians are very religious people, and the cathedrals and churches used to receive very big gifts from Georgian kings, from Georgian aristocracy, and from the people. These treasures were kept for centuries and centuries. But, of course, the Communists looted them all and the interesting fact is that after they looted them, all of this treasure was sent off to Russia.

On one particular occasion a very famous monastery in western Georgia was looted. It contained treasures donated to it by a very famous Georgian king. Because of that, there was a protest sent to the Communist Government, asking them to return these treasures.

Well, they were very cynically told that these treasures were sent to Moscow for restoration. Of course, that was the last ever heard of this treasure.

I would like to point out that it is a custom in my country to wear a cross. Usually, most people, when they are baptized, they get a little cross, and then they wear it through their lives. Well, the Communists tried by all means to remove all these crosses from the population, and I personally know of a man who was appointed by the Communists as sort of a collector of crosses in his particular village, and he told me himself, personally, that he collected everything except crosses—on not a single occasion would anybody give away his cross. They hid them away, in order not to give them to the Communists.

I would like to point out when I was at school, to what length Communists went in order to eradicate religion in Georgia. The school children, after every religious festival, for instance, after Christmas or Easter or some holy day like that, the Communists would examine the children and ask them whether they had any special sort of a dinner or anything on that day at their home, in their family.

And if the child would say, "Yes, for Christmas we had turkey," immediately his family would be arrested and maybe deported or maybe worse.

Or, another thing, in Georgia, as in many other countries, there is a custom at Eastertime to dye eggs different colors, you know, they dye them red or green or blue. Well, after every Easter the Communists would come to the schools and examine children's fingers. If they saw the child had his fingers dyed, that means that they had religious feeling in the family, and immediately they would go to that family.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Sangulia, did the Georgian clergy elect to remain with their people after the occupation by the Russian Communists?

Mr. SANGULIA. Hardly any Georgian priests left Georgia after the invasion. They all elected to stay with their flock and look after them. And I know, from personal experience, that they did everything they could under the very worst conditions to look after their people. And I am quite certain that if there are any left alive in Georgia they still continue to do so.

Mr. FEIGHAN. How did the Communists attempt to separate the children of Georgia from the clergy and their historical religion?

Mr. SANGULIA. All the time I was at school, I was under the very strongest possible Communist antireligious propaganda. We used to have special men who gave special lectures, telling us of the evils of religion, telling us that religion is only an invention for the benefit of capitalists, imperialists, etc., telling us that we should forget about all this, and believe only in the one faith, which is the communistic faith.

They told us to abuse the priests because they were the so-called enemies of the people.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, one more item. I understand, Mr. Sangulia, that you executed a statement for the committee: is that correct?

Mr. SANGULIA. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is that the statement which you have in your hand?

Mr. SANGULIA. This is my own translation.

Mr. McTIGUE. I have a statement here which I ask whether you can identify, whether this is the statement which you have executed for the purposes of this committee.

Mr. SANGULIA. This is a true translation of my original notes.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that this statement be marked for identification and entered into the records as New York exhibit NR 43?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. This statement may be received.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Sangulia, on behalf of the committee, I want to express appreciation for the testimony which you have given, which is a real contribution to these hearings. What you have depicted shows clearly that one of the essential tenets of Russian communism is the absolute destruction of belief in God, the eradication of all moral values, and moral principles, the severance of all filial and brotherly devotion.

The Russian Communists desecrated all that was holy and in the service of God and our fellow men. We thank God for the perseverance of these fine Georgian people and their clergy.

Mr. Counsel, will you call the next witness, please?

Mr. McTIGUE. The next witness is Mr. Kekelia.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you state your name, please?

Mr. KEKELIA. Archil Kekelia.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you raise your right hand, please? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony which you are about to give shall be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth so help you God?

Mr. KEKELIA. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ARCHIL KEKELIA, THROUGH THE INTERPRETER, NICHOLAS KAY

Mr. McTIGUE. Where are you residing at the present time, Mr. Kekelia?

Mr. KEKELIA. College Point, Long Island, 2109 122d Street.

Mr. McTIGUE. 2109 122d Street, College Point?

Mr. KEKELIA. Yes, New York City.

Mr. McTIGUE. In what capacity are you employed at the present time?

Mr. KEKELIA. I am a factory worker.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were born in Kutaisi in western Georgia, on March 25, 1907; is that correct?

Mr. KEKELIA. That is true.

Mr. McTIGUE. When the Russians invaded Georgia in 1921, you were 14 years of age; is that correct?

Mr. KEKELIA. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. And your father was a merchant in the city of Kutaisi; is that correct?

Mr. KEKELIA. Yes, he was a tradesman.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, the witness has executed a statement for presentation to the committee concerning his experiences in Georgia during the time of the Communist occupation of that once free and independent republic.

May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that this statement be made a part of the committee's verbatim transcript?

Mr. FEIGHAN. We will accept, without objection, the statement in toto.

(The statement submitted by Mr. Kekelia reads as follows:)

My name is Archil Kekelia. I was born in Kutaisi, western Georgia, on March 25, 1907.

In 1921, when the Russians invaded and occupied Georgia, I was only 14 years old and did not take part in the actual fighting. My father was a fairly well-to-do merchant, but after the Sovietization of Georgia he went back to his native village and started working on the land. I was helping him when in 1924 the great insurrection broke out in Georgia.

I was 17, but as I was a former merchant's son and as neither my father nor myself belonged to the Communist Party, I was arrested and sentenced to death. However, with the help of friends and relatives, I managed to escape execution. After the insurrection was defeated and the Communists became masters again, in our small village alone they shot 18 persons in the first week. Among them was a girl of 15 and two boys of 16 and 17.

The insurrection cost the Georgia nation very dear. There was not a family which did not lose a father, brother, husband, or near relative. As far as I know up to 9,000 Georgians were executed and tens of thousands sent to Siberia.

I went to Tbilisi where in 1925 my father and all the family joined me. The Communists took literally everything my father possessed, so that we were without any means at all. For 13 years all our family lived in one small dark room. And when I was in Tbilisi I lived with them, too.

In the same year 1925, I enrolled as a student in the social economic faculty of the Tbilisi State University. In my spare time and during the vacations I worked at whatever job I could find. This was very difficult for me, as I did not belong to the Communist Party and also because my father was an ex-merchant and therefore an "enemy of the people." Only one of my sisters had a permanent job and she helped the family as much as she could. Some relatives also helped us occasionally, but no one had very much himself.

In 1929, when I was preparing for final examinations, I was arrested suddenly and without any reason whatsoever. I was taken to the GPU (secret police) where I was told that the accusation against me was that I was an enemy of the Soviet regime, a counterrevolutionary, and also that I was arrested during the 1924 insurrection and escaped.

The man who was interrogating me handed me an already prepared document, in which it was stated that I admit having carried out anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation which was punishable according to the Soviet Criminal Code, chapter 58, paragraphs 10 and 11.

I was ordered to sign this document, but refused and was then dragged into prison. All the GPU men, interrogators, agents, and police with which I had anything to do with were Russians. I was put into a cell which was 4 steps long and 2 steps wide, and in which there were already 13 other prisoners. It was July and very hot. The atmosphere in the cell was unbearable. The cell was literally alive with bugs and rats at night.

We were taken to the latrine only once a day, for five minutes every morning; for the rest of the day there was a latrine bucket in the cell itself. One bucket for 14 men. The terrible stink from the bucket is undescrivable.

Our food consisted of 400 grams of rye bread a day each; half a liter of hot water, supposedly tea, twice a day; and 2 soup spoons of gruel every evening. We did not receive any drinking water at all except the tea which I mentioned.

After 2 weeks I was taken out to be interrogated once more. Again I was told to sign my "confession," and when I again refused, I was thrown (literally) into a solitary cell. This was a circular hole, no more than one meter in diameter, so that I could never stretch out. The walls were absolutely wet. Water was streaming down them and the floor was covered with excreta of men who had been there before me. This cell was never cleaned out.

I sat or stood with my mouth against a small crack in the wall, and so could get some air at least. I must have been in this horror for 4 or 5 days. I lost count and finally passed out.

During these days, I was not fed a single time, but was given some water. When I came to, I was outside and surrounded by guards, who took me to the interrogator again. But before, although I could hardly stand up, they ordered me to wash my clothes which were undescribably filthy.

When I again refused to sign the "confession," I was beaten up. The interrogator used a heavy marble inkstand to beat me with. Then he ordered the guards to take me to "the bath."

I was taken to the cellar and thrown into a hole filled with water. When I crawled out they took me to another cell not much better than the one before.

Hungry, exhausted and weak, I broke out in terrible boils, but received no medical attention whatsoever. On the 8th day in this cell, I went on hunger strike. On the 5th day of my hunger strike, I was finally taken out of the solitary and taken to the Metehi prison. Here conditions were better. I received some medical attention and began to take food again. But my boils were getting worse, so a month later they sent me to the prison hospital.

The Metehi prison contained both political prisoners and just ordinary criminals. When I was there, there were about 600 political prisoners (all Georgians) and although every day 150 to 200 were taken out either to be shot or deported to Siberia, as many new ones came in, so that there were always about 600 of us politicals. While I was in Metehi the political prisoners rioted twice. Ten men were taken out for this, tortured and shot. I heard that such riots took place quite frequently.

In the prison hospital I saw a good friend of mine, a student of my faculty, V. Kankava. He was terribly beaten up when he was arrested. His testicles were smashed and they operated on him and took them off. Besides this, his skull was broken just behind the right ear. One of the Russian guards kicked him there with ironshod boots.

Another young man in my ward was covered with wounds which were full of pus. Another one whom I also knew, Abkhazi-Emukhvari, lost his reason while I was in the ward. They used to beat him every day, because two of his cousins were the leaders of a guerrilla band. The Communists managed to capture the father of these two, tortured and killed him and burned down his house.

While I was in the ward a Georgian priest was brought in. He was beaten so badly that his limbs were broken and he died a few days later.

In September 1929, I was notified that I was sentenced to 3 years deportation to Siberia. This was done without any trial whatsoever. On December 10, together with 82 other Georgians, I was put into a cattle truck which was afterwards sealed. On the ninth day of the voyage, during which we received hardly any food or water, we arrived in Moscow.

We were taken to some prison, but 2 days later were again packed into cattle trucks (we call them Stalin's carriages) and started off again. There were six Georgians, and I do not know how many others of all sort of nationalities in our wagon, which was packed to suffocation.

Even days later we arrived in Novosibirsk, which was the collecting point for all prisoners destined for East Siberia. Here two other Georgians were added to our numbers. However, soon we were split up and myself and one other Georgian, P. Gegeshidze, were told that we would be sent to the camp at Blisk, south of Novosibirsk.

While waiting for transportation, we literally starved. Our rations consisted of 200 grams of bread a day, hot water (tea) in the mornings and evenings and once a day some horrible concoctions made of skin and gristle.

The worst plague in Novosibirsk's prison, like in all prisons and camps in the Soviet Union, were the hardened criminals, murderers, bandits, thieves, who treated the political prisoners even worse than the guards—robbed, beat and

generally maltreated them on every occasion. Cases of murder were of frequent occurrence. These criminals were organized into bands and were encouraged by the Communist authorities, because they always sided with them against the politicals.

After eleven days in Novosibirsk, Gegeshidze and I were sent to Barnaul. In the camp here there was an epidemic of typhus, but we stayed there for over a month. Here we two Georgians became very friendly with a Jew Zionist, Joffe, who was nothing but skin and bones, a real skeleton. He had tuberculosis in an advanced stage, but was getting no medical attention whatsoever. He was a good and kind man, and a good friend.

In Barnaul camp the food was even worse—only 150 grams of bread and fish soup, which made us vomit nearly every time we ate. Occasionally we received gruel as well. In this camp the prisoners were treated very badly. We were beaten and kicked by the guards on the slightest provocation.

After a month in Barnaul, Gegeshidze, Joffe and myself were sent to our final destination, Biisk. Here we were very lucky. The GPU commander released us on the second day and put us in the category of "free prisoners," that is to say, we were allowed to live and work outside the camp, but had to report to the police twice a week and were not allowed to leave the town of Biisk.

Here I spent the next 3 years of my life. First, I got a job in a carpenter shop where I had to work under terrible conditions for 12 hours a day every day, but a few months later, Gegeshidze managed to get a job as an accountant in a boots and shoe factory and fixed me in the factory as well. But conditions here were no better. There were about 500 of us and every day at least 5 or 10 died. We were paid 6 rubles 20 kopeks (\$1.60 by the official rate—in reality less) a month.

In 1932 I was to be released, but instead was given another 3 years (again without any trial whatsoever). The only exception was, that now I could leave Biisk and, as the official document said "reside anywhere in the Soviet Union except 6." That meant that I could not reside in the following six regions:

(1) Transcaucasia and therefore Georgia; (2) Ukraine; (3) Byelorussia; (4) Moscow district; (5) Leningrad district; and (6) Crimea. This was known as "free deportation," and a man in this category was always liable to new arrest and new deportation to the slave labor camps.

I chose for residence the town of Tambov in central Russia, because I had some Georgian friends there, Z. Guruli, G. Phaladze and G. Homeriki. I got some work here and just managed to keep alive, always going in fear of arrest.

In 1933, without any reason whatsoever, we four Georgians were arrested again and separated. I was sent to the prison in Voronezh, where the conditions were terrible. We had hardly any food at all and were packed in the cells so that we could hardly breathe.

It is a well-known fact that there was a terrible famine and a purge throughout the Soviet Union in 1933, which killed many millions of people, and conditions in prisons were much worse than before.

On February 20, 1933, I went on a hunger strike, remembering that it helped me once before. On the 24th day of the hunger strike (this is a true fact, to which I am prepared to swear), that is to say, on March 15, I was released and sent to live as a "free deportee" in the village of Mouchkap, 60 kilometers from Voronezh. Here at the station I was very lucky. I met a Georgian Jew from Kutaisi, Pitchadze by name, who took me in, nursed me and saved my life.

This summer there was a terrible famine. The Russian peasants were dying of hunger, but the Communist police and GPU continued to take from them everything they could lay their hands on. What shocked me then was the way the Russian peasants informed one on another. Perhaps they were hoping to win favor and save their own lives.

Several cases of cannibalism occurred in the village while I was there. The only food available was potatoes and these in very small numbers. We used to add chaff and some grasses to the potatoes and make a soup, which made us sick, but kept us alive. At least half of the population of Mouchkap village died while I was there.

Things improved a little toward autumn. The Communists took all the crop from the villagers, but left them enough to exist. Besides, nearly every peasant managed to conceal some grain.

In 1935, 6 years after being deported from my native country, Georgia, I was released, and in September of that year arrived in Tbilisi. I presented myself to the GPU in order to get the papers necessary to obtain a job, but was told to leave the city within 3 days.

From some friends who were released before me, I heard that former prisoners were liable to be arrested and deported again within a few months. The so-called "enemies of the people" have no rights whatsoever in the Soviet Union. I decided to stay in Tblisi and live illegally without any papers, and for nearly 3 years I managed to do so.

In 1938, some friends of mine obtained for me all the necessary papers, and I could take a job and go about free. I got a job as an accountant in a distillery and worked there until the outbreak of the war.

In 1942, I was conscripted into the Red army and sent to the camp of "politically unreliaables." There were many thousands of us in this camp. Soon we were sent to Ukraine and worked just behind the front line (under armed Red army guards) on road and bridge repairs.

We were all impatiently awaiting the arrival of the German troops and were happy to go over to them at the very first opportunity. And thus I left the hell which is the Soviet Union.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Would you tell us briefly some of the experiences which you went through, particularly with reference to the deportation to Siberia?

Mr. KEKELIA. In 1929, when I was in the University of Tiflis, I was arrested without any reason whatsoever, taken to the Cheka. The Cheka was the secret police. Without any trial and without any accusation being made against me, I was thrown into a horrible little cell, which was only about 4 paces long and 2 paces wide, and which already contained 13 men. The conditions in that cell were indescribable.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Exactly what year was that, again?

Mr. KEKELIA. In July 1929.

Mr. FEIGHAN. How long did you stay there?

Mr. KEKELIA. In that particular prison, I stayed for 1 month and 4 days.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Was that the total number of days of your incarceration?

Mr. KEKELIA. Over 6 years.

Mr. FEIGHAN. How were you treated while you were in prison?

Mr. KEKELIA. We were treated much worse than any criminal has even been treated anywhere. We were politicals. There is a distinction in Russia between political offenders and ordinary criminals. The ordinary criminals are treated very well, because they help the Communist Government against the political prisoners.

Practically every prisoner that I came into contact with was either beaten or kicked or tortured in some other way. There was no medical attention whatsoever. Occasionally, when a man was just about dying, then perhaps he would be taken to the prison hospital.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Why were you put in solitary confinement?

Mr. KEKELIA. I was given a prepared document, which was a statement that I accept my guilt for being an anti-Communist agent. When I refused to sign this statement, I was beaten up and sent to solitary confinement. This happened on several occasions, on at least three occasions in Tiflis I was ordered to sign this statement. Every time I refused and every time I got worse treatment.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you leave Georgia?

Mr. KEKELIA. In 1941.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you eventually emigrate to the United States?

Mr. KEKELIA. In June 1951.

Mr. McTIGUE. Under the Displaced Persons Act?

Mr. KEKELIA. As a displaced person, under the Displaced Persons Act.

Mr. McTIGUE. Since the statement has been admitted in the verbatim testimony, Mr. Chairman, I see no reason for further questions.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Kekelia, on behalf of the committee, I wish to express my appreciation for your testimony and the contribution which you have made in the hearing that is now being conducted.

The committee will now adjourn to meet at 10 o'clock tomorrow morning in this room.

(Thereupon at 4:45 p. m., an adjournment was taken until 10 a. m., Thursday, October 14, 1954.)



INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST TAKEOVER AND OCCUPATION OF THE NON-RUSSIAN NATIONS OF THE U. S. S. R.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1954

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE
TO INVESTIGATE COMMUNIST AGGRESSION
AND THE FORCED INCORPORATION
OF THE BALTIC STATES INTO THE U. S. S. R.,
New York, N. Y.

The committee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10:45 a. m. in room 36, United States Court House, Foley Square, New York, N. Y., Hon. M. A. Feighan, member of the committee presiding.

Present: Mr. M. A. Feighan.

Also present: James J. McTigue, committee counsel.

MR. FEIGHAN. The subcommittee will come to order. This is a continuation of the Subcommittee of the Select Committee To Investigate Communist Aggression. The subcommittee is presently investigating the seizure by the Russian Communists of the non-Russian nations within the U. S. S. R. We will start with Byelorussia.

Will you state your name, please?

MR. SCORS. Nicholas Scors.

MR. FEIGHAN. Raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

MR. SCORS. I do.

MR. FEIGHAN. Please be seated.

TESTIMONY OF DR. NICHOLAS SCORS

MR. MCTIGUE. Where are you presently residing, Dr. Scors?

DR. SCORS. I am presently residing at 1010 Holmes Avenue, South River, N. J.

MR. MCTIGUE. And in what capacity are you employed, Dr. Scors?

DR. SCORS. I am working as a doctor.

MR. MCTIGUE. You are a medical doctor, is that correct?

DR. SCORS. Yes, sir.

MR. MCTIGUE. Are you also the president of the Whiteruthenian Congress Committee of America?

DR. SCORS. Yes.

MR. MCTIGUE. Where were you born?

DR. SCORS. I was born in Whiteruthenia on July 19, 1913.

MR. MCTIGUE. For the record, can you tell us the difference between the Byelorussians and the Russians?

DR. SCORS. From which viewpoint?

Mr. McTIGUE. Are Byelorussians the same as the Russians? There seems to be some misunderstanding in some quarters that Byelorussians are the same as Russians.

Dr. SCORS. Byelorussians are a completely different people and a completely different nation. The nation is old politically, historically and culturally and different traditionally.

Mr. McTIGUE. I wonder, Doctor, if you could talk up a little louder so that these gentlemen of the press can hear you as well as the many people in the rear of the room. We don't have a public address system here.

Dr. SCORS. I will try to do my best.

Mr. McTIGUE. Dr. Scors, did the Byelorussians establish an independent republic at one time?

Dr. SCORS. Yes, the Byelorussian nation was an independent nation all through the 11th, 12th, 13th, and especially 14th and 15th centuries. At first as independent feudal principalities of Polotsk and Smolensk, and then they united together and built up a Grand Lithuania Principality which existed to 1385. Then after that they came together with the Polish State in 1385, the union in Krevey, they built together a Polish Republic. This union was at first a personal union between the Polish King and the Grand Lithuania Principality because Lithuania Principality's Tagiello married Polish Queen Jadwiga in 1387. And on the basis of this marriage they established a personal union between Poland and Grand Lithuania Duchy.

The ethnographical land of present Lithuania was part of the Grand Principality of Lithuania but they formed only a small part of this organization under the name of Zhmudz and Aukstota.

Mr. McTIGUE. Doctor, it is my understanding you are submitting a statement.

Dr. SCORS. I am submitting a statement.

Mr. McTIGUE. Do you have the statement ready now?

Dr. SCORS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. The details surrounding the background and the history of Byelorussia are part of your statement, are they not? I wonder, because you have many other important points that you want to cover in your testimony, if you couldn't read into the record certain basic and essential material with respect to Byelorussia and thereby save some time?

Dr. SCORS. Yes, of course, I agree with you completely.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Dr. Scors, is it not true that in March of 1917 the Byelorussian National Council met in Minsk and sent a delegation to Petrograd to demand autonomy for Byelorussia but the Kerensky Government then in power refused to grant autonomy to Byelorussia?

Dr. SCORS. Yes, that is true.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Is it not true, Dr. Scors, that in December of that same year, 1917, the Byelorussian Government was formed in Minsk even though the area of western Byelorussia was occupied by the German Army?

Dr. SCORS. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Is it correct that the Red army entered Byelorussia and occupied it around April 1, 1918, and that the first Byelorussian Government, with President A. Lylunowich, went into exile?

Dr. SCORS. Yes, it is true.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Is it not correct also that on January 1, 1919, there was a proclamation by the Soviet Republic of Byelorussia?

Dr. SCORS. It was proclaimed a Socialist republic in Smolensk and that government was put in the hands of Zhilunovich.

Mr. FEIGHAN. At that time western Byelorussia was occupied by the Polish armies; is that correct?

Dr. SCORS. At that time there was a war between Soviet Russia and Poland. It was 1920 the western part of Byelorussia was occupied by Poland.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did the Russian Communists occupy Byelorussia?

Dr. SCORS. They occupied Byelorussia in 1917. It was at the time when the old Byelorussian Congress in Minsk on December 13 was dispersed by the Russian Army through physical force.

Mr. McTIGUE. There was a military action by the Russian Communists?

Dr. SCORS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Had there been any treaties in existence at that time between Byelorussia and Russia?

Dr. SCORS. There was no treaty in existence. However there were discussions going on between Byelorussia and Russia.

Mr. McTIGUE. What was the date again, for the record, that the military invasion of Byelorussia was started by the Russian Communists?

Dr. SCORS. They started their military invasion of the eastern province of Byelorussia at the beginning of 1918, and they took the capital of Byelorussia, Minsk, before December 1917.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did the Russian Communists occupy all of Byelorussia?

Dr. SCORS. The situation was changeable because of the war between Poland and Soviet Russia. The control of White Ruthenian territory changed hands from month to month. Some part was under Soviet Russian occupation and then under Polish occupation, and some territory was under the direction of the Byelorussian Government.

Mr. McTIGUE. When the war between Russia and Poland was over what happened?

Dr. SCORS. Then on the basis of a treaty signed in Riga on March 18, 1921, Byelorussia was divided between Poland and Soviet Russia.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now, after the treaty of Riga did the Russian Communists take over all the power in that part of Byelorussia which was given to it as a consequence?

Dr. SCORS. They took all power in that part of the territory of Byelorussia.

Mr. McTIGUE. Was it as a result of the treaty of Riga that Byelorussia was no longer an independent nation but rather was divided between Poland and Russia?

Dr. SCORS. From one viewpoint, yes, but from the viewpoint of international law, in my opinion, Byelorussia existed as an independent nation much longer because the Byelorussian Government in exile had official connections with different independent countries until 1928-29. Especially with the Czechoslovakia Republic.

Mr. McTIGUE. Who were some of the great powers that recognized the independent Republic of Byelorussia?

Dr. SCORS. Among the great powers, Germany alone gave recognition to her. I am sorry to say no other great power recognized Byelorussia as an independent state, and in my opinion it was a mistake from the viewpoint of the policy of the great powers.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now, after the treaty of Riga which divided Byelorussia, did the Russians take over completely in that part of Byelorussia which was ceded to them?

Dr. SCORS. Yes, and they were smart enough to put at the head of the government Byelorussian Communists, especially one D. Zhilunovich. He was a Byelorussian. He was later liquidated, by the Russians. The other members of the Soviet Byelorussian Government, except for some Russians and Jews, they were Byelorussians, too.

Mr. McTIGUE. Under what circumstances was Byelorussia incorporated into the U. S. S. R.? What action was taken by the Russian Communists?

Dr. SCORS. They, without determining the will of the people, incorporated Byelorussia into Soviet Russia.

Mr. McTIGUE. When?

Dr. SCORS. Practically right away, when they created the so-called Byelorussian Soviet Republic.

Mr. McTIGUE. That was in 1920?

Dr. SCORS. Yes. But for all practical purposes they had incorporated it before.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did they go through the usual methods of having the Byelorussian Diet or Parliament vote for incorporation?

Dr. SCORS. Before they created the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic on January 1, 1919, they did stage a meeting in Minsk attended by their stooges to create the impression that the Byelorussians had voluntarily created a Soviet form of government. But in fact, the will of the Byelorussian nation, the Byelorussian people, was not considered and it didn't play any part in the Soviet Russian policy.

Mr. McTIGUE. At that time the Russian Communists were establishing the pattern which they put into use on so many occasions since whereby they wanted to cloak the actions they took with certain legal aspects, that is, give the appearance that the people of Byelorussia wanted to establish a Soviet republic and to be incorporated into the U. S. S. R.

Dr. SCORS. Yes; they did try that maneuver but it was made ridiculous because later they changed the boundaries of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic many times without asking the Byelorussian people, without even asking their rump government of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic. They changed the boundaries in 1920, a second time in 1924, and in 1926, too, without seeking any kind of agreement on these matters with the Byelorussian people.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Doctor, in other words, the Russian Communists just use the once free and independent nation of Byelorussia as a pawn in their diplomatic and propaganda maneuvers in the game of power politics?

Dr. SCORS. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. How were the Byelorussian people treated under the Communists?

Dr. SCORS. It is a long, sad story.

Mr. McTIGUE. I know that it is a long and tragic story, but I wonder if we could break it down under certain general headings such as

deportations and treatment of religion and education, the process of collectivization? Take, for example, deportations. After the Communists occupied Byelorussia, did they carry on a reign of terror consisting of deportation and execution and mass arrests?

Dr. SCORS. Before taking that up I would like to point out that the Byelorussian people made a second attempt to establish their national independence in 1920.

In November 1920 the Byelorussian insurgents in Slusk organized under the recognized government in exile of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic, an armed force. A full division was created, 1 division of about 10,000 soldiers, which was built up from 2 regiments. They fought against the Soviet Russian occupation but due to the larger military force of the Russians they were defeated. The fight of the Byelorussian nation for independence didn't stop with this defeat of the insurgent army in Slusk but they continued the fight in nationalistic bands up to 1929.

Mr. McTIGUE. They engaged in open military conflict?

Dr. SCORS. Yes; against Soviet Russian occupation forces. The last of the organized Byelorussian national partisans were dispersed in 1929. Those forces were dispersed because the Byelorussian people came to the conclusion there was no sense, no reason, to fight against the Russian occupier unless they received help from other non-Communist countries. Therefore the last White Ruthenian armed force was broken up in 1929.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did they go underground then?

Dr. SCORS. They dispersed.

Mr. McTIGUE. Dispersed?

Dr. SCORS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I ask then is there still resistance in Byelorussia?

Dr. SCORS. At the present time? Yes, of course.

Mr. McTIGUE. And that resistance is in the nature of an underground resistance?

Dr. SCORS. It is not an organized, military resistance because in the opinion of all Byelorussians, there is no sense to fight such an uneven fight unless help is given by the other nations of the world.

Mr. McTIGUE. How long did you remain in Byelorussia?

Dr. SCORS. I was in Byelorussia until 1939, but I went back for a short time in 1941 during the German occupation.

Mr. McTIGUE. Covering the period from 1919 and up until recently, have you any estimate of the number of Byelorussians who were deported or executed by the Communists?

Dr. SCORS. During the first years of Russian Communist occupation of Byelorussia they were not too severe on the people. Because the Russians felt insecure in their position in Byelorussia their policy was a mild one. They organized the government, as I told you before, in which Zhilunovich was the Chief People's Commissar, and they granted some concessions in the cultural life and even in religious life. It was the so-called period of NEP.

Mr. McTIGUE. They wanted to win the Byelorussians over to the cause; is that it?

Dr. SCORS. I am not positively sure what their motive was. In my opinion it is likely that they granted some freedom to the citizens in order to get evidence against the national forces and the leaders of

the people so they could liquidate all those elements at one time. The deportations and liquidations started in 1929.

Mr. McTIGUE. How many people were liquidated starting with 1929, have you any estimate?

Dr. SCORS. In our estimation it is about 4½ million people.

Mr. McTIGUE. What was the population of Byelorussia at that time?

Dr. SCORS. That is a difficult question to answer. The number of people liquidated speaks for itself. Soviet Russian policy was most clever, that is, from their viewpoint. It called for liquidation of all leading classes of Byelorussians and the destruction of the national spirit in Byelorussia. They started to liquidate the intelligentsia first. They liquidated the writers, poets, playwrights, musicians, artists, actors, and so on.

Mr. McTIGUE. What was the population of Byelorussia at the time it was occupied by the Russian Communists following the Treaty of Riga in 1919? What was the population approximately?

Dr. SCORS. It is very difficult to give a precise answer to that question because—

Mr. McTIGUE. An estimate will do.

Dr. SCORS. As I said before, the geographical area of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic was changed and so was the population. The population of the area first held by the Russian Communists was only about 1½ million. Then, in 1920, due to the change in boundaries ceded by the Treaty of Riga the population was increased to about 5,600,000. Then in 1939, when the Russians occupied the western part of Byelorussia the population was increased to 10,400,000.

Mr. McTIGUE. So the total number of Byelorussians in all the area was approximately 15 million?

Dr. SCORS. At what time?

Mr. McTIGUE. At the time of the Second World War when the Russians occupied all of Byelorussia.

Dr. SCORS. In 1941, our best estimate of the population was not less than 16, or more than 18 million Byelorussians.

Mr. McTIGUE. And the statement you made previously in your testimony is that approximately 4 million all told have been liquidated?

Dr. SCORS. Yes, and in addition the whole intelligentsia was liquidated.

Mr. McTIGUE. And this liquidation was carried on through the media of deportations and executions?

Dr. SCORS. Executions and deportations.

Mr. McTIGUE. And slave labor camps?

Dr. SCORS. Murder and the use of concentration camps.

I have here some lists but they are incomplete. They cover only a small part of the liquidated Byelorussian intelligentsia. It was compiled largely through the help of some witnesses who were together in different concentration camps, and I would like to submit this list for the record because it demonstrates how Soviet Russia tried to kill or to destroy Byelorussia by eliminating its intelligentsia.

Mr. McTIGUE. The intelligentsia?

Dr. SCORS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. How did you compile this list? What was your source?

Dr. SCORS. The source was direct contact with people who came back from different Russian concentration camps and they told us about our intelligentsia who were in the camps to which they were sent—which ones died or disappeared.

As another source, during the German occupation of Byelorussia in 1941, we made careful surveys. We discovered who had disappeared and who was sent to concentration camps and so on.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman—

Dr. SCORS. I would like to stress it is not a complete list of the liquidated Byelorussian intelligentsia. This is only an example. It is a partial list.

Mr. McTIGUE. A sort of cross section of some of the intelligentsia who were liquidated?

Dr. SCORS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that this list which carries the names of Whiteruthenian scholars, poets, writers, and others who were liquidated by the Russians, which Dr. Scors has presented here today be marked for identification and be entered into the record of the hearings.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection it is so ordered.

(The list of names referred to was marked "New York Exhibit NR 44").

Mr. McTIGUE. Doctor, can you tell us something about how religion in Byelorussia fared under the Communists?

Dr. SCORS. The policy of Soviet Russia toward religion and toward all phases of religious life is that religion must be destroyed. They are therefore persecuting religion not only in Byelorussia but they are persecuting religion throughout the whole U. S. S. R. But in Byelorussia especially this persecution of religion was strong because religion in the Byelorussian churches was always closely related to the national spirit. And I can say with certainty that during Soviet Russian occupation of Byelorussian territory all churches were liquidated. There were about 2,445 churches in Byelorussia before the Russian Communists began their occupation and not one church remained as a church, I mean, where services were conducted, and not one priest was left. This aspect will be stressed in more detail by the testimony of a Whiteruthenian priest, the Very Reverend Nikolaj Lapitzki.

It is well to remember that in the historical life of the Byelorussian nation, the first, very first, national uprisings were connected with and supported by the church in the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries. Russian Soviet policy set out to destroy the very root of Byelorussian national feeling.

I have here some pictures taken in 1937 and 1938 during the Soviet Russian occupation in Byelorussia, and from these pictures we can see that the churches, which were all national shrines of the Byelorussian people, were either destroyed or converted into warehouses, storage places and for other purposes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Are the series of photographs to which you have reference, Dr. Scors, pictures of the churches before and after the Communist occupation, showing the use to which the Communists put the churches? Is that correct?

Dr. SCORS. Yes, sir, that is correct. However, in some cases we only have pictures of the churches after occupation and not before.

Here in the middle is picture No. 8-A. It is a cathedral. It is the Whiteruthenian, Byelorussian Orthodox Assumption Cathedral in Vitebsk. It was built in 1743 by an Italian architect, Fontani, in baroque style. In 1920 it was converted to a storehouse for grain. In 1936 it was blown up by dynamite. Picture 8-A is the cathedral before destruction and picture 8-B after destruction. From an artistic viewpoint, architectural viewpoint as well as the religious viewpoint this was a most beautiful and very important building. The Russians blew this church up with dynamite. They did not even clear away the wreckage after this criminal act. This picture here was taken in 1936 and you can still see the stones and other debris strewn about the place where this beautiful church once stood.

Mr. FIEGHAN. You are referring now to the picture designated as "8-B"?

Dr. SCORS. Yes, it shows the location after this cathedral was blown up.

Here is another picture. Whiteruthenian Byelorussian Orthodox Church of the Holy Trinity or White Trinity in Vitebsk, it was built in 1750 by the philanthropist Kudzilovitch. In 1936 it was converted by the Russians to a tanning factory and warehouse for the storage of leather goods. The basement was used for the storage of salt.

This is the outside and this is the interior. You can still see the leather that was stored on the inside.

Mr. McTIGUE. You are referring to pictures Nos. 4 and 4-A?

Dr. SCORS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, may I suggest that the series of photographs of certain churches in Byelorussia, to which the witness has made reference in his testimony, and photographs showing the churches before and after, be marked for identification and admitted into the committee's records as New York exhibits Nos. NR 45, NR 45-a, and NR 45-b.

Dr. SCORS. May I stress one point in connection with these pictures? I would like to say we know the attitude of Soviet Russia toward religion. Somebody might wonder just why they destroy the churches. The reason is that Communist theory and Communist ideology cannot coexist together with Christian philosophy and religion. But I wanted to stress here that they didn't destroy only the churches as churches. They destroyed the church as a national symbol, along with other things which represented the national spirit and cultural background of the nation. Here are the ruins of the castle of the Queen Bona in Smolany, district of Vitebsk. The castle was built in the 15th century. In 1928 the Bolsheviks partially destroyed it for the purpose of constructing a dormitory. In 1935 there was further destruction for the purpose of building a public bathhouse.

We know from Soviet Russian propaganda that the men in the Kremlin are saying that Soviet Russia is the leading nation or leading state within the U. S. S. R. from the cultural standpoint. It is interesting to note here that they were destroying the Byelorussian culture and destroying everything that was in connection with that culture. And we have to remember that Soviet Russian propaganda especially in India claims a high culture. It is not the truth at all because they are liquidating real culture and replacing it with the barbaric way of life.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, the pictures are made a part of the record as exhibits.

Mr. McTIGUE. Doctor, you testified previously that there are still elements of resistance in Byelorussia today, resistance against the Russian Communists. Can you tell us what the hopes and aspirations of the Byelorussian people are today?

Dr. SCORS. As I said before, there is a continuous, unending struggle by the Byelorussian people against Soviet Russian occupation. We have received information which we consider reliable, from returning German prisoners of war and others that in Byelorussia there is still a partisan movement active. I personally know that after Russian reoccupation of Byelorussia in 1944 the Byelorussian Central Council which was located then in Germany sent some officers in small groups to organize this partisan movement. They sent these detachments under Vitushka, Lutskevich, Dr. Bohdanovich and others, all leaders and organizers of the partisan movement.

The feeling for independence—political, cultural, and economic—in Byelorussia is strong in spite of deportations, liquidations of the intelligentsia, and other efforts to break the national spirit of the Byelorussians.

Mr. McTIGUE. So the hopes of the people of Byelorussia today are that their once independent nation will on some future date be restored, that it will be an independent republic as it was before the Communists illegally invaded and seized the Republic of Byelorussia; is that correct?

Dr. SCORS. Yes. I mean the tradition for an independent life which has flourished in past centuries and which had a rebirth at the beginning of the 20th century is still strong in the Byelorussian nation.

Mr. McTIGUE. And their resistance is still active?

Dr. SCORS. Yes. The resistance to Russian occupation is still active.

Mr. McTIGUE. The resistance is directed to the end of eventually restoring the national sovereignty of Byelorussia?

Dr. SCORS. Yes, that is the great ideal, the inspiration which keeps the resistance alive.

Mr. McTIGUE. Do you receive regular reports from sources in Byelorussia?

Dr. SCORS. We are getting reports not directly but through Poland and other countries. There are other ways of keeping in touch with the situation regarding the Soviet Russian reoccupation of Byelorussia.

Mr. McTIGUE. Do you still manage to maintain your sources of information?

Dr. SCORS. We are always trying, but I must tell you it is difficult.

Mr. McTIGUE. It is difficult, but the congress does maintain its sources of information?

Dr. SCORS. Yes, of course, but as I say we are always trying to improve our work.

Mr. McTIGUE. It knows pretty well what is going on in Byelorussia?

Dr. SCORS. Approximately. We know the major developments over any period of time.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Dr. Scors, I have before me the New York Times of today, October 14, on page 4 of which is shown a picture of a representative of Chile and Byelorussian S. S. R., taken at the United

Nations. This picture shows that at the left is Jose Maza of Chile and at the right is K. V. Kiselev of the Byelorussian S. S. R. Now, Doctor, I would like to ask you, is this K. V. Kiselev truly representative of the people of Byelorussia?

Dr. SCORS. Of course not. He is not even Byelorussian. He is a Russian.

Mr. FEIGHAN. He is not a Byelorussian.

Dr. SCORS. He is Russian.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Well, he certainly then could not be a popular representative.

Dr. SCORS. Of course not.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Of the people of Byelorussia?

Dr. SCORS. Of course not.

I would like to stress that in the early days of the Byelorussian Soviet Republic while Byelorussians were at the head of the government, they were actually ruled the whole time by the Russian Communists. However, after World War II the heads of the government were all Russians.

For example, in 1939 the Soviet data on personnel of the party machinery in Byelorussia was as follows:

First secretary of the Byelorussian Communist Party, Gusarev Nikolay Ivanovich, a Russian.

Second secretary, Ignateyev Semen Denisovich, a Russian.

Third secretary—whose post was not important at all—was Zimyanin Mikhail Vasilyev, a Byelorussian.

First secretaries of the provinces:

Bobruysk: Baronov, Fedor Alekseyevich; a Russian
 Baranovichi: Zakudrayev, Vasily Ivanovich; a Russian
 Brest: Silyayev, Fedor Pakhomovich; a Russian
 Vitebsk: Kudryayev, Vladimir Georgevich; a Russian
 Grodno: Prytytsky, Serhey Ozipovich; a Byelorussian
 Homel: Avkhimovich, Nikolay Efremovich; a Byelorussian
 Mohylev: Stepanova, Aleksanda Ignatyevna; a Russian
 Molodechko: Klimov, Ivan Frolovich; a Russian
 Minsk: Chernishev, Vasily Efimovich; a Russian
 Polesye: Lobonok, Vladimir Eliseyevich; a Byelorussian
 Pinsk: Tetyuschchev; a Russian
 Polotsk: A. Kleshcheyev; a Russian.

This demonstrates that of the 12 secretaries of the Communist Party in the different districts only 3 were Byelorussians and all the rest Russians.

The Foreign Ministry, was created in 1944, not for the purpose of representing the Byelorussian people, but only for the purpose of getting extra Russian votes in the United Nations and for the purpose of propaganda in general.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Since you have mentioned the high officials in the present Byelorussian Government most of whom are Russians it certainly seems quite obvious that if the people of Byelorussia had been permitted to have a free and unfettered election they would never elect a foreigner as their representative at home or abroad.

Dr. SCORS. Of course, that is clear. Those Russians are not in the positions they occupy by the will of the people of the Byelorussian nation. The Byelorussian Government only sends such representatives as the Kremlin directs. The Kremlin must send a loyal Russian as

the representative of the Byelorussian people in order to create more confusion in the western world.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Then it would be more proper if K. V. Kiselev was truly designated as a representative of the Russian nation and strike out the "Byelo"?

Dr. SCORS. Of course.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Before the word "russia"?

Dr. SCORS. I agree with you.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Doctor, could you give the committee some information with reference to the educational system at the present time in Byelorussia?

Dr. SCORS. No, I couldn't, but we have here some representatives of the teachers and so on, and I hope you will be able to hear them because they will stress this point before the committee.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you very much, Dr. Scors.

Dr. SCORS. It was both a pleasure and a duty, Congressman.

Mr. FEIGHAN. The committee is very grateful for the contribution you have made. Thank you very much.

Mr. McTIGUE. I understand Dr. Scors has a statement which he wishes to present to the committee which covers in detail the testimony which he has given orally before the committee here this morning. May I suggest that Dr. Scors' statement be marked for identification and admitted into the committee's record as "New York Exhibit NR 46."

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, it will be so ordered.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is Reverend Lapitzki in the room?

TESTIMONY OF REV. NIKOLAJ LAPITZKI, THROUGH THE INTERPRETER, GEORGE LAPITZKI

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you state your name, please?

Mr. LAPITZKI. George Lapitzki.

Mr. FEIGHAN. And you are going to act as interpreter?

Mr. LAPITZKI. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you raise your hand, please?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you will translate from English to Byelorussian and Byelorussian to English will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LAPITZKI. I do.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Please be seated.

Reverend, will you please stand? Will you state your name, please?

Reverend LAPITZKI. Nikolaj Lapitzki.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Reverend Lapitzki, do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Reverend LAPITZKI. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Please be seated.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where are you presently residing?

Reverend LAPITZKI. In Passaic, N. J.

Mr. McTIGUE. Are you assigned to a parish in Passaic?

Reverend LAPITZKI. I have my parish in South River, N. J., which is near New Brunswick.

Mr. McTIGUE. What is the name of the church?

Reverend LAPITZKI. Whiteruthenian Greek Orthodox Church of St. Euphrosynia, in South River, N. J.

Mr. McTIGUE. In what town?

Reverend LAPITZKI. South River, near New Brunswick.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where and when were you born, Reverend Lapitzki?

Reverend LAPITZKI. I was born in Byelorussia, and graduated from the Greek-Orthodox Clergy Seminary of Vilno in 1930, and later I also graduated from the theological department of Warsaw University.

In 1934 I was ordained into rank of priest and was appointed as a prior of Greek-Orthodox parish of Ashmiana, near Vilno in western Byelorussia. Soon I was transferred into a parish of Stephonpol. in the same diocese.

I would like to submit to the Congressional Committee on Communistic Aggression some information concerning the history of the Byelorussian Greek-Orthodox Church, the persecution and liquidation of the church by Bolshevik authorities.

In the year 988 Byelorussian people accepted the Greek-Orthodox religion from Greece. There the church started to exercise a great influence in political, national, and social life of a country, the Greek-Orthodox religion became the national religion of Byelorussia.

Roman Catholic religion (at that time Polish national religion) came to Byelorussia through Polish nation at the end of 14th century, after the union of Grand-Dukedom of Lithuania (Byelorussia) and Poland in 1386. Polish authorities tried to polonize Byelorussian population and at the same time to convert them to Roman Catholics. Due to a great unwillingness of Byelorussians to accept Catholic religion, Polish authorities forcefully induced the union between two religions in 1596 in Brest. The Catholic religion was the dominant.

Until 1686 Byelorussian Greek-Orthodox Church was under indirect supervision of patriarchy of Constantinople. But thereon Moscow kept enforcing its influence upon Byelorussian Church.

The church-administrative independence has a strong influence upon the national and political life of the country, what especially has been showing in the earliest time of Greek-Orthodox religion in Byelorussia. For that reason, already then Byelorussian political authority desired to have Greek-Orthodox Church as their national church. In 1317, Duke Hedymin organized the first independent Byelorussian Church metropolis with metropolitan Pheophil as a head of the church. In 1355, on the desire of the Great Duke Alherd, the Patriarch of Constantinople appointed a special metropolitan, Roman, for a whole Lithuania (Byelorussia). In 1415, during the time of the Duke Vitaut, there has been called up in Nowahradak the meeting of Greek-Orthodox bishops of the whole Byelorussia; from Polazk, Smolensk, Turawsk, Chernihausk and others. This meeting did not obey the will of metropolitan Photia, who was subordinated to Moskow, and chose Hryhoria Zamblaka for the metropolitan of Byelorussia. After Russian occupation of Byelorussia at the end of 18th century, Byelorussian Greek-Orthodox Church completely lost its independence and became a part of Central Russian Greek-Orthodox Church Administration. Then the Russian clergy and Government authorities, sent to Byelorussia, started russification of Byelorussian nation through the church. They were spreading the idea that all Greek-Orthodox people are Russians and Roman Catholics are Poles. Exactly the

same thing was also practiced by Polish authorities. They both used religion for the destruction of Byelorussian nation. In spite of it, majority of Byelorussians remained Byelorussians and in suitable conditions always aspired to restore its state as well as church independence.

Following is the proof of it:

After the declaration of independence of Byelorussia on March 25, 1918, in the year 1922 Metropolitan Melchisedek of Minsk organized an independent Byelorussian, Greek-Orthodox Metropolis. On July 23, 1922, the convention of Byelorussian clergy and laymen was called together. This convention announced the organization of Byelorussian Autocephalous Church Metropolis. This event is broadly presented in the metropolitan's message dated 9th and 10th of August 1927. With the strengthening of Soviet regime, this movement was repressed. Soon Metropolitan Melchisedek was called to Moscow (September 1925) and arrested. Bishop Johan of Mazyr died in a concentration camp in 1927. Bishop Filaret or Bobruisk died in prison in 1939, also in prison died Nikolaus, Bishop Sluzk (1931). Many other followers were sent to Siberia's slave camps or shot. By 1937 all the clergy of Byelorussia was liquidated, the churches locked or destroyed, services completely stopped. While speaking about freedom of religion in their constitutions, Communists closed all churches (about 2,000) at the same time in the whole Byelorussia. All the bishops and clergy were arrested, starved to death, tortured, or lost in slave camps of Siberia. I know only two priests from Minsk diocese, Very Rev. Johan Brujakin and Rev. Wasiliy Werzbalowicz, who lived through the slave camps and after Bolsheviks were drawn out of Byelorussia (1941) came to Minsk to the metropolitan's office.

Western part of Byelorussia according to Riga agreement of 1921 had to be occupied by Poland. Greek-Orthodox Byelorussians constituted one-third of entire Greek-Orthodox population of Poland. Polish Government had organized an Independent Polish Greek-Orthodox Church with the old Russian functionaries in it; thus retaining its basic policy of subsequent russification. Later on Polish rulers perceived harm in such a policy and made a sudden change. They began to enforce Polish language into Byelorussian churches with an intention to make the Greek-Orthodox Church to serve to Polish nationalistic interests. The strife of Byelorussians for the nationalization of their church had to be waged against Poles and the Russians as well.

On September 1, 1939, Germany attacked Poland and within 2 weeks defeated its armies. On September 17, 1939, the Red army crossed the Polish eastern border in order to occupy the western Byelorussia as was previously agreed between Molotov and Ribbentrop.

At that time the church life in western Byelorussia was in an organized order. The entire hierarchy, with exception of "Greek Orthodox Poles" and the head of Polish Greek-Orthodox Church, Archbishop Savo and Bishop Matvej, who fled, remained there and were ready to the consequences for their religious activity. To be sure Russians went to work fast. In the first week of their occupation Bolsheviks had tortured to death Very Rev. A. Kuc with his family (lived in Shilovichy near Zhirovichy), Rev. Kaminski (lived in Levshov near Svisloch), Rev. Borowski from Lashy near Hrodno, Rev. Samkowicz from Pruzhan. In town Zievla near Volkovysk

Russians have shot in cold blood 14 people among whom were Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholic priests, and Jewish rabbis. At the same time they arrested Rev. S. Bilew, E. Suzvila, M. Morozow, S. Kras-kowski, W. Jeskow, and many others, many of whom never came back.

This wave of sudden arrests, imprisonments, and ruthless extermination of Greek-Orthodox clergymen, destruction of churches, cemeteries, and disgrace of ikons was an indication of the Soviet anti-religious campaign in western Byelorussia.

Many priests escaped abroad, but majority of them remained at home and further performed their duties. They were carrying a burden of large taxes for not paying of which the priests were exiled to labor and concentration camps. In addition to monetary taxes priests as any other citizens had to supply government with certain amount of cut wood for lumber, collect stones, work so many days on the road construction, and do all kinds physical labor for nothing.

The Soviet regime made many changes within the eparchy of western Byelorussia. Despite the fact that there was Archbishop Feodosij in Vilno and Alexander in Pinsk, the Moskow Metropolitan Sergej (an NKVD functionary) forcefully took over all the parishes in western Byelorussia and appointed his own eksarchs for the archbishop's position (Metropolitan Nicholas Jarushevich for western Byelorussia and Ukraine, and Metropolitan Sergej Woskresienski for Baltic countries). Archbishop Feodosij and lower rank clergies for not recognition of Moscow jurisdiction were forbidden to perform the holy services. Although the act of Moscow eksarch was not canonical but Archbishop Feodosij and his staff remained annulled for they were not able to resist the Moscow jurisdiction which was fully backed by NKVD. By that time the eparchy of Minsk, Vitiebsk, Magilov, Smolensk, and other cities had no bishops and not a single priest was left, but the metropolitan eksarch of Moscow patriarchy had concentrated his attention on the western Byelorussian eparchies in order to clean the latter from unreliable nationalistic elements.

During the years 1939-41 Soviet occupation period Russians have eliminated all Polish elements from the Greek-Orthodox Church and reinforced it with the Russian influence. Administratively the Byelorussian Greek-Orthodox Church was forcefully subjugated to Moskow metropolis.

The entire activity of the Moskow Metropolitan Sergej was nothing else but the realization of Moscow plans of complete conquest of western Byelorussia with a gradual elimination of religious life as it was done in eastern Byelorussia.

In such circumstances at the time, of destruction of the Greek-Orthodox Church in the east and oppression in the west, Byelorussia became occupied by the German Army in 1941. During German occupation of Byelorussia I was sent by my church superiors to the capital of Byelorussia Minsk, to work as a priest over there. Neither in Minsk, nor in any other city, town, or village in whole Byelorussia I could see open church or active priest even at the lowest level, it was unthinkable to see a bishop. All the churches were closed and some of them even exploded such as Cathedral and Railroad Church in Minsk. Most of the churches were rebuilt into warehouses, such as St. Ekatherina's Church, Storoshowka Church, or into Communist clubs, such as Women's Monastery, Railroad Wooden Church, and

Men's Monastery was used as a fire station. These churches are located in Minsk.

The same situation existed all over the eastern Byelorussia. Communists took a special interest in destroying religious monuments of architectural value. For instance, they destroyed completely St. Boriso-Gleb Monastery in Polazk in 1930, which possessed fresco of the year 1222, and on the same holy place they built stable for cows; in Witebsk they exploded a very old St. George Church, and Voskriesiensi Church in 1936; in Mohilev Bolsheviks exploded St. Joseph Cathedral and on the same place they built a building for NKVD police, etc.

Executions, prison, concentration camps, and deportation into Siberia or deep north of Russia were means of destruction of all Byelorussians, who believed in God under Communist regime. That is why from 1937 till German occupation of Byelorussia there was no one church left open and no one priest alive. Nonetheless, Bolsheviks could destroy only churches and church organizations, but they could not destroy faith in God, Greek-Orthodox tradition and religious philosophy. Belief in God has its roots deep in hearts of Byelorussian people to which even Communist brutal power of Kremlin had no access. The best proof of it was spontaneous religious uprise of Byelorussian people in 1941 after the Communist regime was gone, and quick establishment of religious life with tremendous attendance of churches by people.

Religious life of all other creed in eastern Byelorussia was also destroyed by Bolsheviks, such as Roman Catholic, Jewish, Mohammedan, and so forth. Churches were closed, priests liquidated, and people believing in God oppressed.

During German occupation of Byelorussia in 1941 the new conditions for the organization of religious life arose. A part of the hierarchy remained in Byelorussia began to organize the church administration and restore religious life in the eastern part of Byelorussia which was formerly under Soviet domination.

German occupation authority allowed to restore the religious life in form of Orthodox Byelorussian Autocephalous Church, independent of other churches. It was allowed to preach in Byelorussian. The Russianized part of the clergy resisted the Byelorussianization of the religious life, however, the process of Byelorussianization was flowing slowly and quietly. In March 1942 a meeting of Greek-Orthodox bishops with Metropolitan Panteleimon as a chairman took place in Minsk. At the meeting was decided that the sovereign and independent Byelorussian Greek-Orthodox Church exists. Byelorussian Holy Sinod, the highest administrative church organ, was organized. Thus, the Greek-Orthodox Church in Byelorussia became independent, making efforts to become fully autocephalous. The following dioceses in Byelorussia were organized: Minsk, Novahradak, Brest, Smolensk, Vitebsk, Mogilev, Grodno, and Gomel. A number of Byelorussian candidates were ordained to bishops.

In September 1942 the All-Byelorussian Greek-Orthodox Assembly took place in Minsk in which Byelorussian hierarchs, clergy, and the representatives of citizens of the whole Byelorussia participated.

The following items are the most important in the decree of the Assembly:

1. Byelorussian Greek-Orthodox Church is fully independent and the autocephaly of the church is to be formally put into the practice.

2. The text of the letter addressed to the Patriarch of Constantinople with the request of recognition of the autocephaly of Byelorussian Greek-Orthodox Church was approved.

3. The text of the regulations of the Byelorussian-Orthodox Autocephalous Church was approved.

4. It was decided to send letters to all Greek-Orthodox Autocephalous Churches and ask for acceptance of the close church relations with Byelorussian Autocephalous Church.

5. It was decided to preach in Byelorussian and to use Byelorussian in the church administration, and the language of the mass was to be the old church-salvonic language.

The religious life of Byelorussia was resumed. In that part of Byelorussia which was formerly under the Soviets churches were repaired and rebuilt, the God services were resumed, and people participated in the religious life.

In 1944 Soviet Russia occupied Byelorussia again. The whole Greek-Orthodox hierarchy and part of clergy of Byelorussia together with a good number of citizens had to leave the native country in order to avoid the Soviet terror. Soviet tyranny murdered all national Byelorussian celrgymen and the most active members of the church whom it seized in Byelorussia. For the temporary political propaganda purposes the Soviet Government retained a few parishes in the west Byelorussia, and those churches used for the godless Soviet propaganda were Russianized and forced to obey orders issued by the Moscow patriarchy.

Our people in Byelorussia and in exile are striving for the liberation from the foreign occupation and establishment of the independent national Byelorussian state and Byelorussian Greek-Orthodox Autocephalous Church according to the religious canons. Byelorussians in exile keep their national organizations and create Greek-Orthodox religious life independently of Russian and Polish Greek-Orthodox Churches, but under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchy of Constantinople which is a mother of our Byelorussian Greek-Orthodox Church.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you when World War II broke out?

Reverend LAPITZKI. I was in Stephonopol, in the same county, in Vilno.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you ordained a priest while you were living in Poland?

Reverend LAPITZKI. Yes, in 1934.

Mr. McTIGUE. And as a priest of the Greek-Orthodox Church?

Reverend LAPITZKI. Greek-Orthodox, yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you in Byelorussia, in western Byelorussia, serving as a priest of the Greek-Orthodox Church when western Byelorussia was occupied by the Communists?

Reverend LAPITZKI. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Can you tell us something, Reverend, about how the Russian Communists acted toward the people of your parish and the people generally, and also what the Communist attitude toward religion was?

Before you give testimony on that point, will you identify your parish in western Byelorussia at the time the Communists first occupied the country?

Reverend LAPITZKI. I was in the church of Stephonopol, in a small town or village, county of Vilno.

Mr. McTIGUE. When the Communists came to western Byelorussia you were in Stephonopol?

Reverend LAPITZKI. I was a priest in Stephonopol. The first few days the first division of the Communist army passed by—

Mr. McTIGUE. I want to go back for a moment, Reverend.

You had your parish in western Byelorussia which was then under the administration of Poland, is that correct? Is that before the Communists came?

Reverend LAPITZKI. That is right. Before the Communists invaded my parish was in Ashmiana. I was in Ashmiana for 3 months and after these 3 months I was sent to Vilno to serve as a priest, and this is where the Communists came.

Mr. McTIGUE. And after the outbreak of war between Germany and Poland the Russian Communists occupied western Byelorussia, is that correct?

Reverend LAPITZKI. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Can you tell us, Reverend, what happened when the Communists occupied western Byelorussia? What happened to you personally? What happened in your parish? And what happened to the religious life in western Byelorussia?

Reverend LAPITZKI. When first the Communist army occupied west Byelorussia the soldiers behaved themselves very well. After 3 or 4 days new people came over. They were called Politrobotniki.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were they the political commissars that followed the Red army?

Reverend LAPITZKI. That is exactly what I mean. And after a few days they started to go against the people, agitating against the Polish and the Byelorussians to get the people over to their side. After this they started arresting priests, and selected people, and they even killed a few of the priests. For instance, in the town of Zhilovichy near Zhirovichy they killed a priest and his entire family. Reverend Kaminski in Levshov near Svisloch was killed by an NKVD man in a barn. In Zievla near Volkovysk they killed 14 people. Among them was a Greek Orthodox priest and Catholic priest and a rabbi. During this short time in Byelorussia there were 25 priests tortured and killed, Greek Orthodox priests.

Mr. McTIGUE. During this time, Reverend, did they close down the churches?

Reverend LAPITZKI. During this time they put large taxes on the churches and if some church did not fill out the requirements, the church was closed.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were the taxes so heavy it was almost impossible for the churches to keep open?

Reverend LAPITZKI. They were very large taxes but our people, they still possessed some wealth from the period before the Communists took over. The priests also had some money and property. The priests sold most of their things, much personal property, and the lay people helped out in order to pay the taxes. I have two documents, in the form of bills which state the taxes placed upon the church.

Mr. McTIGUE. Issued by the Communists?

Reverend LAPITZKI. Yes. They are written in Byelorussian.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Reverend, would you just translate one of them to give us an idea for the record?

Reverend LAPITZKI. In Nejinski County, Lapitzki, Nikolaj Stephen, paid the taxes—paid out 1,396 rubles and 24 kopecs.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. FEIGHAN. May I ask you, Reverend, one of those is a receipt for 1,396 rubles, is that correct?

Reverend LAPITZKI. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. I would like to ask you two questions; first, when was the date of that?

Reverend LAPITZKI. July 9, 1940.

Mr. FEIGHAN. 1940?

Reverend LAPITZKI. Yes. The other one is July 29, 1940 for 2,200 rubles.

Mr. FEIGHAN. I would like to ask you what was then the equivalent of American dollars in rubles; and secondly, the period of time covered by each of these receipts which you have for payment of taxes?

Reverend LAPITZKI. I don't know the equivalent of American dollars to the rubles. During the year I paid around 8,000 rubles. And for the master of the chorus in the church 3,000 rubles. I don't know the equivalent in American dollars.

Mr. FEIGHAN. What was approximately the number of parishioners in your parish?

Reverend LAPITZKI. There were around 5,000 members of the church.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Did you have to pay taxes before the Russians came in?

Reverend LAPITZKI. During the Polish occupation? During the Polish occupation the church paid only taxes for—if they owned land, buildings, and a small income tax.

Mr. McTIGUE. For the record, during the Polish administration in western Byelorussia, is it true that the taxes on the church institutions were nominal, but that under the Communist regime they were almost confiscatory?

Reverend LAPITZKI. Yes. That is certainly true.

Mr. McTIGUE. After the German and Russian War was started did you visit the capital of Byelorussia?

Reverend LAPITZKI. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. What did you find with respect to the churches in Minsk and also with respect to the clergy, the Orthodox clergy on your visit at that time?

Reverend LAPITZKI. During the Communist regime?

Mr. McTIGUE. When you visited the capital, Minsk.

Reverend LAPITZKI. When I visited Minsk all the churches were closed down, not a single one was open.

Mr. McTIGUE. Was Minsk under occupation by the Communists at the time?

Reverend LAPITZKI. It was occupied by the Germans. During the Russian occupation in Minsk I could not go to Minsk. I was not allowed to go there.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you go to Minsk, Reverend, what was the year?

Reverend LAPITZKI. 1941.

Mr. McTIGUE. So that when the war broke out between the Germans and the Russians and the Germans occupied Minsk, you returned to Minsk and upon your return you found out that all the churches had been closed down during the time the Communists had occupied Minsk; is that correct?

Reverend LAPITZKI. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is it true that all the religions, Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Mohammedan as well as the Orthodox religion in Byelorussia, were persecuted under the Communists?

Reverend LAPITZKI. Yes. I didn't see any church of any other religions open during the time I was in Minsk.

Mr. McTIGUE. They were all closed, in other words.

Reverend LAPITZKI. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Do you happen to have in your possession any pictures of church life in Byelorussia which might supplement the testimony you are giving here this morning?

Reverend LAPITZKI. I have only one picture in front of the church, and on top there is a crucifix which during the Communist regime was taken down from the church. This picture shows a person up on the roof putting it back on. At the bottom there are some people. I am among them along with my archbishop.

Here is another picture. On the side you can see building material with which, after the Communist regime was ended, the people were going to use to rebuild the church.

The Communists destroyed the churches, but they couldn't destroy the faith of the people, the religion in people. Here is a picture showing that after the Communists were driven out of Minsk, the mass of people attending church services.

Mr. McTIGUE. The Communists closed the churches, persecuted the clergy, but they never succeeded in destroying the religious faith of the people of Byelorussia; is that correct?

Reverend LAPITZKI. Yes, that is very true.

Mr. McTIGUE. I understand you have executed a statement for submission to this committee which discusses in some detail or supplements in some detail what you have already given orally before this committee here this morning; is that correct?

Reverend LAPITZKI. Yes. There is a mistake in it. There is a wrong date given in the paper, and I would like to correct it, if you don't mind.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is that the statement that you have before you, Father?

Reverend LAPITZKI. Yes. There is one date I wish to correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I suggest, Reverend, that you correct the date in your statement which you are submitting to this committee before it is offered into the record.

I ask, Mr. Chairman, that the statement executed by Reverend Lapitzki be marked for identification and inserted into the body of the record previous to the oral testimony given here this morning by the witness.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Reverend Lapitzki, on behalf of the committee, I wish to express appreciation for your presence and your testimony and the contribution you have made to our hearing. Thank you.

TESTIMONY OF ZAHID KHAN-KHOYSKY, THROUGH THE INTERPRETER, DR. NICHOLAS SCORS

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you state your name, please?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. Zahid Khan-Khoysky.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you solemnly swear you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Please be seated.

Dr. SCORS, will you please state your full name?

Dr. SCORS. Nicholas Scors.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you solemnly swear you will translate from Polish to English and English to Polish the testimony which you are about to hear to the best of your ability, so help you God?

Dr. SCORS. I do.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Your name is spelled as follows: Z-a-h-i-d K-h-a-n-K-h-o-y-s-k-y?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. Yes.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Where are you residing at the present time?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. In New York City, 895 West 177th Street, New York City.

Mr. MCTIGUE. What is your present employment, Mr. Khan-Khoysky?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. I work for a transport firm. I work as an agent in a transport firm.

Mr. MCTIGUE. You are an agent for a transport firm?

Where and when were you born, Mr. Khan-Khoysky?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. I was born in Aberbaidzahn.

Mr. MCTIGUE. In what year?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. 1910.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Where is Azerbaidzahn?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. In the Caucasus.

Mr. MCTIGUE. What is its population approximately?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. About 3½ million.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Will you tell us something of the culture and religion of the people of the territory of Azerbaidzahn?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. Azerbaidzahn's people are of Turkish descent and of Mohammedan religion. Up to 1804 they were an independent nation. In 1804 Azerbaidzahn was occupied by Czarist Russia and ceased to exist as an independent state.

Mr. MCTIGUE. What year was that?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. Until 1804 Azerbaidzahn was independent. In 1804 the whole of Azerbaidzahn was occupied by Czarist Russia and ceased to exist as an independent state.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Now, when did Azerbaidzahn again win its independence?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. 1918.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Was it in 1918 then that Azerbaidzahn declared its national independence?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. On May 28, 1918, there was a proclamation of independence of Azerbaidzahn.

Mr. MCTIGUE. Is it true that the people of Azerbaidzahn have nothing in common either religiously or culturally with Russia?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. Yes, sir, that is true; the people of Azerbaidzahn have absolutely nothing, nothing in common with Russia.

Mr. McTIGUE. Nothing in common?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. The language, culture, religion of Azerbaidzahn has nothing in common with the Russian people.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is it true that the Azerbaidzahn nation has always fought against Russian imperialism and for its national independence?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. Yes; those are permanent goals.

Mr. McTIGUE. After the declaration of national independence by Azerbaidzahn in 1918, was a democratic form of government established there?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. Yes. It was the first democratic form of government established among the old Mohammedan people.

Mr. McTIGUE. What were some of the features of the democratic form of government which was established?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. An independent republic was created on democratic principles of completely free elections, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and the right of all people to hold public office.

Mr. McTIGUE. The same basic freedoms were guaranteed by the constitution of the Azerbaidzahn Republic as are guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States of America; is that right?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. It is completely, in all important aspects it was identical to the Constitution of the United States concerning the guaranties of the basic freedoms.

Mr. McTIGUE. What nations recognized the independent republic of Azerbaidzahn after it was established?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. The Azerbaidzahn Republic was recognized at first as de facto and then de jure by the old nations of Europe, England, France, and then Italy among them. Then Japan recognized Azerbaidzahn. Turkey, Afghanistan, Persia, Iran, and other nations followed with their recognition.

Mr. McTIGUE. How long were you in Azerbaidzahn, up to what date?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. I was in Azerbaidzahn until 1921.

Mr. FEIGHAN. You were in Azerbaidzahn then on April 27, 1920, when the Russians attacked the independent republic Azerbaidzahn?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Did the Russians declare war on Azerbaidzahn when they invaded?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. The Russians did not make any formal declaration of war. Azerbaidzahn was invaded and overrun by the Soviet Russian Red Army without a formal declaration of war.

Mr. FEIGHAN. The Russians invaded Azerbaidzahn without any provocation of war; is that correct?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. Yes, that is also correct.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you know whether there were any treaties existing at that time between Azerbaidzahn and Russia?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. There were no treaties between the independent Azerbaidzahn Republic and Soviet Russia.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did Russia invade Azerbaidzahn?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. April 27, 1920.

Mr. FEIGHAN. On the day after Russia invaded Azerbaidzahn, that is, on April 28, did the Russians create the Azerbaidzahn Soviet Republic?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. Yes. The independent Azerbaidzahn Republic was invaded by the Red army in the night from the 27th of April to the 28th of April 1920. They said they came to "liberate" the Azerbaidzahn people from nationalistic and capitalistic influences.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Simultaneously with their invasion they proclaimed a Soviet Azerbaidzahn Republic, is that right?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. I am not positively sure of the date, as best I can recollect, this proclamation of Azerbaidzahn Soviet Socialist Republic came on the second day of the invasion, the 28th or 29th of April 1920.

Mr. FEIGHAN. What did the Russians do to the people of Azerbaidzahn after they invaded on April 27, 1920?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. Immediately after the Russians invaded the independent Azerbaidzahn Republic, they started to persecute the people. They especially concentrated on that part of the intelligentsia which took part in the establishment of national independence, and all those who had anything to do with the proclamation of political independence of the Azerbaidzhan Republic.

Then they arrested social workers, the priests, and what the Russians called bourgeois capitalists.

This persecution was steadily increasing in force until May 1920.

In May came the reaction of the Azerbaidzahn people in the form of insurrection against the occupying Red army and the Russian Government.

Mr. FEIGHAN. But the Russians, by force of superior arms, subdued the Azerbaidzahn people who rose up against this new tyranny; is that correct?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. There were many different insurrections. The main insurrection of the Azerbaidzahn people was defeated by the force of the Soviet Russian Army. The most important single insurrection was in the vicinity of Gandja. This lasted for about 12 to 14 days and later official Soviet Russian statistics admitted about 8,000 of the Russian Soviet soldiers were killed in that part of the Caucasian Mountains fighting to put down that insurrection. But in the end the insurrection was suppressed by force of military might of the Soviet Russian armies.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Khan-Khoysky, were you in school at the time of the invasion by Russia?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. Yes, sir.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Did you continue in school long after the Russian invasion?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. No; only to April 1920. I was attending a public school until 1920, and in April 1920 my family and I were arrested by Soviet Russians.

Mr. FEIGHAN. And you were unable to continue your studies thereafter?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. I was unable to continue in the schools.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Did you have any opportunity to observe what the Russians did to the educational system of Azerbaidzahn after the invasion and during their occupation.

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. After forcible occupation of Azerbaidzahn the Russians started Russification of the whole school system. They started gradually. They changed the alphabet, the old Arabian alpha-

bet of the Azerbaidzahn people, at first to the Latin alphabet and then later to the Russian alphabet.

Mr. FEIGHAN. What did the Russians do, or how did the Russians treat the believers in the Moslem faith?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. Soviet Russia is against all religion, and it is certainly against Moslems.

At the very beginning of the occupation of Azerbaidzahn they started to close the mosques. They arrested the Moslem clergy. They executed our clergy and such policy continues until the present time.

Mr. McTIGUE. The population of Azerbaidzahn was about 3½ million people, is that correct?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. At the time the Communists occupied Azerbaidzahn?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. At the time the Russians started the occupation of Azerbaidzahn in 1920 official statistics indicated about 3,600,000 population. The Russians started killing and persecuting the Azerbaidzahn people. Then there were mass deportations to Siberia. Official Soviet statistics now claim the population is only 3,200,000, after more than 35 years of Russian occupation in the Caucasus and Azerbaidzahn.

Mr. McTIGUE. The point I am getting at is this, Mr. Witness: Have you any estimate of the number of people who were liquidated after the Communists took over Azerbaidzahn? Out of a population of 3,600,000, how many people were liquidated?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. According to my own estimates more than half a million of the Azerbaidzahn people were liquidated by executions, deportation, and so on.

Mr. McTIGUE. You testified previously that you were arrested by the Communists, is that correct?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. How long were you imprisoned by the Communists?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. I was arrested in May 1920, and I was in jail about 3 months, 2 or 3 months.

Mr. McTIGUE. Why were you arrested?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. I was arrested because my family was a little bit richer than the average people; and because my uncle was the first president of the Azerbaidzahn Democratic Republic.

Mr. McTIGUE. After your release from prison, did you leave Azerbaidzahn?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. After my release from jail I was under house arrest for about 6 months, and after 6 months I fled westward from Azerbaidzahn.

Mr. McTIGUE. What year was that?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. 1921.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you eventually come to the United States?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. 1951.

Mr. FEIGHAN. What happened to your uncle who was the first president of the Republic of Azerbaidzahn?

Mr. KHAN-KHOYSKY. He was murdered by the Soviet Russians.

Mr. McTIGUE. I understand, Mr. Chairman, the witness has executed a statement which covers more in detail the oral testimony he has given here this morning, and may I suggest that his statement be made a part of the record?

(The written statement as submitted is as follows):

AZERBAIJAN

The people of Azerbaijan have nothing in common, either religiously or culturally, with Russia, except that they were beaten by her through armed force. The Azerbaijan nation fought and will continue to fight Russian imperialism until it has attained its freedom.

Azerbaijan is one of the Caucasian Republics, and at present the Seventh Soviet Republic comprising the U. S. S. R.

Its natural surface area was about 35,898 square mile; at present, together with the autonomous Republic Nakhchewan, it is 33,899 square mile. This expanse embraces the southeasterly portion of the Caucasian straights. It borders on the south by Persian Azerbaijan, on the north by Daghistan, on the east by the Caspian Sea and on the west by Georgia and Armenia.

The population of the whole Caucasus is approximately 12 million—60 percent Mohammedans (7,200,000), 38 percent Azeri-Turks, (4,500,000).

The settled population on the territory of the Republic of Azerbaijan is about 3,500,000. The ethnographic boundary of Azerbaijan stretches far beyond its present expanse. The number of Azerbaijan-Turks in the Near East is approximately 9 million of this number, about 4 million belong to the Persian Azerbaijan.

From the economic viewpoint, Azerbaijan is considered to be the wealthiest country in the world. Besides the Baku sources of naphtha, one of the principal factors of economic life in Azerbaijan is agriculture. The annual yield in harvest reached up to 1,500,000 tons. In addition, Azerbaijan is one of the principal reservoirs of wool in the U. S. S. R., the yield of which is about 200,000 tons. The entire country has developed agriculture, silk industry, fodder. Large beds of high percentage (66 percent) iron ores, sulfurpyrites, barite, copper pyrite, pure copper, copper flint, zinc, alunite, lead, iodine, bromine, aluminum, salt and even silver and gold add to the wealth of Azerbaijan.

The supply of naphtha sources in Baku is calculated at 1.5 milliard tons, which represent 20 percent of the world's scale. The yearly production, according to Soviet statistics, is about 20 million tons. Before the first World War, 90 percent of the capital in the naphtha industry of Azerbaijan belonged to foreign firms, such as Nobel, Rothschild, Oleum, and others; 7 percent local manufacturers and 3 percent in the hands of the Russians. Last examinations showed that the naphtha sources of Azerbaijan lie not only in the vicinity of Baku but also in other neighboring countries, and that in large quantities.

Concerning the geographic area of Azerbaijan, it can be divided into three regions:

(a) The central region, along the River Kura, is a stretch of steppes, by degrees falling easterly to the Caspian Sea, where it hardly reaches 28 yards of the sea level.

(b) Northern region, which runs along the principal range of Caucasus from the Caspian Sea to the west, where it reaches a height of 2,180 to 3,270 yards. The highest summits are: Bazarduzu (4,894 yards), Shahdag (4,607 yards) and Babadag (4,033 yards).

(c) Southern region, composed of plateaus and the crest of the Gandja in a southeasterly direction, the heights of which reach from 2,000 to 3,000 yards. The highest summits are: Glamish (4,050 yards), Kapudjuh (4,360 yards).

Thanks to shelter from the cold winds from the north by the high altitudes of the Caucasus the climate of Azerbaijan in the valleys is moderately warm.

The name "azerbaijan", in the language of ancient Persia, means "country of fires", for this country perpetually "gleams with fire" of intense earth gases, on the summits upwards to Akhkerme, as well as on the surface of the Caspian Sea in Baku Bay. Here the legend of Prometheus originated, who gave the people fire and for that he was chained by the gods to the Caucasus Mountains with chains, and the vultures fed at his liver until Heracles released him.

Prometheus became a contemporary symbol of independent activity of the Caucasian nations, on a par with other nations in the struggle with the imperialism of Soviet Russia.

The temple of the fire worshipper (Ateshkah), with fires eternally burning, whose smoke rises to the suburbs of Baku, and up until recently attracted pilgrims from the far corners, principally from India.

In view of frequent earthquakes, or constant wars and invasions, barely any traces have been left of the deeds of ancient Azerbaijan. Information is meager, half-legendary, related only by some Persian and Greek historians.

The population of Azerbaijan, that is Azeri-Turks, are related to the Anatolisk Turks and Turkestan. They adhere to the Mohammedan religion and speak

Turkish. Since the 5th century, the Turkish element settled Azerbaijan, despite warnings of whole centuries, particularly in the period of the Mongol-Turkish wanderings, between the 13th and 14th century.

Azerbaijan has for a long time been the arena of conflicts of various political sources, the place of crossbreeding of groups—ethnically, culturally and educationally. Here were settlements of Persians, Arabs, Mongols, again Persians, and finally Russians.

As early as the fourth century, this country was inhabited by elements of Turan origin. Their chief, Tomrus-Khan waged innumerable wars with Persia and Byzantium. They also assisted in establishing a standard of trade between China and Byzantium.

From 644 to 1053, Azerbaijan was under the influence and domination of Arabs. After long but not last battles of the Arabs with Khazar, who created a mighty warring state at the mouth of the Volga River, in the year 1054, the Arab empire surrenders Selchuk, which ruled in Azerbaijan approximately 90 years.

In 1146, on the ruins of the Selchuk state, a new state rises, under the name of Atabek. The first capital of Atabek was the city Gandja, the next Tebriz, the present capital of Persian Azerbaijan. The dynasty of Atabek reigned approximately 100 years. Its rule embracing the whole territory of Azerbaijan from the ridge of the Caucasus up to the boundariets of Bagdad, and along the Kiziluz River to the Caspian Sea.

After her last attack upon the Mongols in 1231 Atabek falls and upon its ruins a new mighty state rises—the Mongol Khan. At the beginning of the 13th century, the Mongol Khans embrace Islam (Mohammedanism). The great-grandson of Dzinghis Khan, Helaki-Khan, establishes a mighty empire. At this time, a system of canals, coursing the river Kura and Arks, is built. A convenient route for trade was established. For the first time in history, checks in exchange of money is used. Money, with views of cities of Azerbaijan, were excavated recently not only in the Near East but also everywhere in Europe, Scandinavia and even the British Isles.

Mongol reign in Azerbaijan lasted up to 1410. After the fall of the Mongol Khanat, in the year 1411, a new independent Turkish state arises in Azerbaijan—Kara-Ak-Koyunlu (black-white-sheepskin colors), which rules up to the beginning of the 16th century. As the result of a great battle under Sharuru, in the year 1502, the Persian Shah Ismail-Sefevi conquers the white-sheepskins, and occupies the whole of Azerbaijan. The Turkish Sultan Selim-Yavuz, hastened with assistance to the Azerbaijanis, and in the battle at Chaldyran, near the city Khoy, the Persians were conquered (1514).

Hardly 100 years passed, and Azerbaijan was the arena of wars with Turks and Persians. Finally, in 1619, a treaty is signed between the Turks and the Persians, under the agreement of which Azerbaijan is annexed to Persia, whereas northern Azerbaijan announces its independence.

Czarist Russia dreamed of Caucasus for a long time. The first campaign on Caucasus was arranged by Czar Peter the Great in 1722. It was unsuccessful because the insurmountable summits of the Caucasus established a natural fortification for the country.

At the end of the 18th century, Georgia was experiencing a major political crisis. For the protection of its boundaries from Persia and Turkey, Georgia made a voluntary treaty with Russia, giving its army base for its disposition in exchange for eventual military assistance.

After the death of the Georgian King, George XII, on December 9, 1801, Czar Alexander I issued a manifest concerning the abolition of the Georgian Kingdom and its annexation to the Russian Empire. In this manner, Russia entered the expanse of the Near East as a new partner of Turkey and Persia.

In Azerbaijan during this period the Azerbaijan Khans reigned for over 150 years. Inasmuch as Russian imperialism never respects boundaries, after fortifying itself in Georgia, in 1803 the Russian Army, under the leadership of Prince Cyclanow, marched in a campaign against Azerbaijan. The Russians met with strong opposition of millions of free sons of the "Land ablage". The biggest battle was waged near the city of Gandja. Surrounded on all sides, technically and numerically by the predominant strength of the enemy, the heroic battle continues 40 days and nights. On January 4, 1804, the Russians entered the burning city. Through the last gate of the city, the ruler of Gandja, Dzawadkhan (Djawad-Khan) together with his son, fall in heroic death, for the freedom and independence of Azerbaijan.

After entering the city, the Russians committed horrible atrocities, killing not only the unarmed, but also women, the aged and children, praying in the mosques. Gandja and her hero ruler, Dzawad-Khan, became for the people the symbols of freedom in the struggle with Russian imperialism. In order to erase from history that heroism and opposition to them in the struggle for independence of the city, the Russians changed the name of Gandja to Czarina Elizabeth (Elizavetpol).

After the occupation of Gandja, the Russians pushed further, meeting lesser and greater opposition of the Azerbaijanis. During the besiege of the city Baku, on February 8, 1806, the commander in chief of the Russian Army, Prince Cyzianow, dies.

Russia was forced to shed much blood for a long time in order to dominate all of Azerbaijan. Finally, February 9, 1828, Russia and Persia signed a treaty in Turkmenchay, dividing Azerbaijan between themselves, along the River Araks.

In the initial period of its reign, Czarist Russia conducted a relatively moderate policy in relationship with the conquered Azerbaijanis. That regime and policy did not last long, only until the Russians conquered northern Caucasus and completed temporary accounts with Persia and Turkey. Having a free hand now, Russia commences to systematically destroy everything that was characteristic of the nation. They liquidated all local administrations, closed the schools and religious seminaries. The Russians introduced slavery into Azerbaijan. The peasants lost their freedom, which was their heritage and the lawful custom of the country. The slavery and lawless relationship of Russia to the people of Azerbaijan created a general economic catastrophe in the country. The economic life of Azerbaijan was, since ancient times, on a very high level. During the times of Khan in Gandja, there was a functioning factory of glass, silk industry and iron foundry. Silk, in large quantities, was exported to Venecia. Trade relations were established with various countries, as well as with England.

The Azerbaijanis were treated by the Russians as an element beneath animals and without any rights. They were exempted from military service so that they would not learn the skills of war. They were not engaged in government services and were forbidden entrance to any higher institutions of learning, or own land in Turkestan. In local schools the lecturing language was Russian. An Azerbaijan was forbidden to print newspapers in his native tongue. The Russians established their well known methods—spiritual and material—of russifying the country. They named the Azeri-Turks simply Tatars, so that in this manner they would isolate them from the Anatolist Turks.

Despite everything and the disadvantages of political conditions, the Azerbaijanis preserved their native culture, native customs, and religion. The Russians were unsuccessful in destroying in the nation its desire for freedom.

The Azerbaijanis established first for the people of Islam, operas and operettas, such as Shah-Abbas, Leyla-Madjuun, Koroglu, Arshunmalalan, Meshti-Ibad, etc., which are still being played in the theaters throughout Caucasus and the Bilsky East. The renowned scholar Francuski Reclus called the Azeri-Turks the civilizers of Caucasus.

After the Russian Revolution, 1917, representatives of the people of Caucasus opened, in Tiflis, the so-called Pro-Caucasus Parliament, as the highest tribunal of independent Caucasus. Under the influence of various political and historical incidents, the pro-Caucasus Parliament shortly crumbled. Chaos and disorder reigned over the whole country. During the occupation, a band of Bolsheviks settled in Baku, who in March 1919, perpetrated pogroms and plundered, killing over 10,000 local people.

The Georgians were the first to join the Pro-Caucasian Parliament, and May 26, 1918, proclaimed their independence. Two days later, that is, May 28, 1918, the Azerbaijan Council of People, in a commemorative act, proclaimed, in their ancient capital, Dzawad-Khan, in Gandja, the independence of Azerbaijan.

1. From this day forth the Azerbaijan Nation has sovereign rights and Azerbaijan, comprised of the northern and eastern sections of Sub-Kavkaz—is independent with full state rights.

2. Independently, Azerbaijan accepts the form of a democratic republic.

3. Azerbaijan Democratic Republic is desirous of entering into friendly, neighborly relations with all nations, especially with the nations and countries directly bordering it.

4. The Azerbaijan Democratic Republic assures all its citizens, without regard of religion, nationality, race, full political and civil rights.

On these democratic conditions, the first republic was established in the life of the Turkish nations. Fatali-Khan Khoysky (Fatali Khan of Khoysky), became the first head of the young Republic, equipped with an unusual authority.

Over the old fortress of Dzawad-Khan, after over 100 years of bondage, the tricolored standard, with half moon and 8-pointed star, of independent Azerbaijan was hoisted.

Despite deprivation of the Czarist Russia of the right to serve in the army, the Azerbaijan Government was successful, in a short time, to organize its own army, to the strength of 30,000 under the command of Gen. Samed bek Mehmandarly. All schools were nationalized, the Azeri-Turkish language returned. In the larger cities, the seminaries and universities were opened.

September 15, 1918, the united forces of Azerbaijan-Turks freed Baku from the Bolshevik hordes. Shortly thereafter the Azerbaijan Government moved to its new capital, Baku.

October 17, 1918, divisions of English came from Persia and occupied Baku. December 7, 1918, the Azerbaijan Parliament convened, which for the second time transferred the Government to Fatali Khan of Khoysky.

December 18, 1918, the commander of the Allied forces, General Thompson, published a proclamation in which he recognizes the government of Fatali Khan of Khoysky as the lawful Government of Azerbaijan, and with this the English divisions departed from Baku.

January 12, 1920, the Supreme Council of Allied Nations recognized the independence of the Republic of Azerbaijan. In a short while recognitions were made by Poland, Japan, Persia, and Turkey.

During the period of 2 years of its independence, Azerbaijan evidences great progress in all branches of its Government.

Bolshevik Russia, like Czarist Russia, at all costs, desired to dominate Caucasus, first of all, over its sources of naphtha, which for them was a living problem. First, an armed threat hung over Azerbaijan in a struggle with the armies of General Denikin, to which Bolshevik Russia desired to gradually draw the young government. When it was unsuccessful in this, they evoked an uprising of Armenians in the Province of Karabag. During the time the Azerbaijan armies were engaged in quelling the revolt, the Red army, with a strength of approximately 70,000 people, on April 27, 1920, without declaration of war, crossed the borders of Azerbaijan. The border divisions of the Azerbaijan Army were destroyed by the overwhelming strength of the enemy. That same day, Baku fell into the hands of the Red Russians.

Not waiting long, the Bolsheviks commenced to apply their particular methods of government—arrests, shootings of national and political leaders, requisitions, religious persecutions, plunder, and murder. After arresting almost all higher-ranking officers, the Azerbaijan Army was incorporated into the ranks of the 11th Red army.

After 2 weeks of rule, the Bolsheviks had ruined and stripped prosperous Azerbaijan. The population became morally and physically depressed because of the terror unheard of yet in history.

That same Gandja, which 100 years ago made the first stubborn opposition stand against Czarist Russia, was this time also the first to defy Red Russian occupation. During the night from May 22 to 23, 1920, the Azerbaijan 3d Cavalry Regiment, under command of D. Kazum-Beka, and with the support of all the people of the city, attacked the Russians. All administrative offices and principal outposts of the Red army were taken over by the insurgents. Over the old fortress Dzawad-Khan (Djawad Khan) the tricolored standard of the Azerbaijan Republic was again unfurled. Gandja fought for 12 days and 1 night, surrounded on all sides by large forces of the enemy. Left alone, without help, without ammunition, Gandja had to yield to the enemy. According to official Soviet circles, more than 8,500 red guardsmen died near Gandja. After the Bolsheviks entered the city, they committed hideous atrocities, slaughtering equally men, women and children.

After Gandja, uprising burst out in various provinces of the land, but, unfortunately, bloodshed was concealed by the occupant.

Bolshevik Russia, like Czarist Russia, changed the name of heroic Gandja, but this time to Kirowabad.

Armed conflict and opposition by the people continues, and will continue against the most ruthless tyrant in history. From 1920 to the present day, annually, thousands of people are being murdered in the basements of the GPU-NKVD, youth is sent to Siberia, to the slave camps in Solowky.

After the murder of Kirow, in Leningrad, for 3 nights, more than 3,000 Azerbaijanians were shot down by the GPU. During the collectivization of farmers, mutiny and uprising by peasants occurred in all Caucasus. From 1929 to 1931, there was official war in Azerbaijan, in which the Bolsheviks utilized the regular army, airplanes, and gases.

Equally with the heroic war of the Azerbaijan nation in Europe against Red occupation and communism, the Azerbaijan emigration also wages a continued informative-propagandive-political war for the deliverance of its country and the independence of Azerbaijan.

The Azerbaijan nation has nothing in common with Russia, either religiously or culturally, except that it was subjugated by arms only. The Azerbaijan nation fought and will continue to fight with Russian imperialism until it attains its freedom.

Mr. McTIGUE. I have no further questions.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you, Mr. Khan-Khoysky. We appreciate very much your presence and testimony and the fine contribution you have made to our committee work.

Thank you.

The committee will stand in recess until 1:45 o'clock.

(Whereupon at 1:05 p. m. a recess was taken until 1:45 o'clock.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. FEIGHAN. The subcommittee will come to order.

Mr. Counsel, will you call the first witness?

Mr. McTIGUE. The first witness this afternoon, Mr. Chairman, is Mr. Vasil Misiul.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Scors, you will act as interpreter for Mr. Misiul?

Mr. SCORS. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. State your full name, please.

Mr. SCORS. Nicholas Scors.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you solemnly swear that the translations which you will make from White Ruthenian into English and from English into White Ruthenian will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SCORS. I do.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Now will you state your name?

Mr. MISIUL. Visil Misiul.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MISIUL. I do.

TESTIMONY OF VASIL MISIUL, THROUGH THE INTERPRETER, NICHOLAS SCORS

Mr. McTIGUE. You are residing, Mr. Misiul, at 222 Powell Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.; is that correct?

Mr. MISIUL. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where and when were you born, Mr. Misiul?

Mr. MISIUL. I was born in Vilna, the village of Izha.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you in Byelorussia when the Russian military forces occupied it in September of 1939?

Mr. MISIUL. Yes, I was.

Mr. McTIGUE. What was your occupation at that time?

Mr. MISIUL. I was working as a farmer.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Dr. Olesnicki, will you take over?

(The remainder of the testimony of the witness was given through Roman Olesnicki, who had been previously sworn as interpreter.)

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you also engaged at that time in teaching in the public schools?

Mr. Misiul. During the rule of the Czar I was a teacher, and then later on I was mobilized to work as a teacher again, a short while after the Bolsheviks came to power.

Mr. McTigue. Was that in 1939?

Mr. Misiul. In 1939 I was mobilized by the Soviet authorities to perform the functions of a teacher.

Mr. McTigue. After you were mobilized by the Communists in 1939 to teach in the schools, can you tell us something about the system of education under Communist rule?

Mr. Misiul. The Bolshevik system of teaching differed very little from the former Czarist Russian system. On paper the Bolsheviks introduced a system of teaching in the Byelorussian language, but in reality they demanded that everybody should speak Russian.

Mr. McTigue. Did they tell you that you had to teach school?

Mr. Misiul. Yes.

Mr. McTigue. Did they give you certain instructions in how you should teach the children?

Mr. Misiul. There were special inspectors who watched that the instructions were carried out strictly.

Mr. McTigue. Were these instructors stationed in the classrooms?

Mr. Misiul. The inspectors would call meetings of teachers from time to time and would deliver pep talks to these teachers on how to apply the Soviet system of education.

Mr. McTigue. And were you each day required to follow that line in teaching the children?

Mr. Misiul. Whenever there was a day that I felt fairly secure that there would be no official inspectors coming into my classes, I would teach the way I thought fit. However, if there was any suspicion that there might be an inspection that day or any day nearby, then naturally all of us had to teach strictly according to instructions.

Mr. McTigue. And the instructions were the Communist line, is that right?

Mr. Misiul. Yes, the instruction was strict Communist line.

Mr. McTigue. Was the educational system in Byelorussia at that time in poor condition?

Mr. Misiul. Those schools which had been in existence in that part of Byelorussia which had been under Polish rule were in good shape, but the Bolsheviks opened a great number of new schools, and they were very inferior compared to those which had existed before.

Mr. McTigue. Did you at any time tell the Communists that the attendance was low at school, that the buildings were in bad shape, and so forth and so on?

Mr. Misiul. It was the Soviet authorities that complained to us teachers about the poor attendance of children in schools and demanded of us that the attendance be higher. We were helpless. That's where I got in trouble with them, over the matter of attendance.

At one of such school meetings these political authorities that teachers do more work and accused the teachers, claiming it was their fault that the attendance had fallen off and that the teaching was not on the proper level. I could not stand these accusations, so I stood up and I voiced my criticism of the entire management of the school system. For this reason I was fired from my job.

Mr. McTigue. What was the reaction of the Communist Party leaders after your criticism?

Mr. Misiul. The immediate reaction was a criticism of my opinions at that meeting, and soon thereafter I was relieved from my job.

Mr. McTigue. Were you in Byelorussia in 1941 after the Russians were driven out by the advancing German armies?

Mr. Misiul. Yes, I was there all the time.

Mr. McTigue. That was in 1941; is that correct?

Mr. Misiul. Yes.

Mr. McTigue. At that time were you made a member of a committee to investigate the prisons in Byelorussia which had been run by the NKVD?

Mr. Misiul. Yes, I was made a member of a committee to investigate former NKVD prisons.

Mr. McTigue. What did you find out, what was the result of the committee's investigation?

Mr. Misiul. It was about 2 or 3 days after the Soviet armed forces had left our neighborhood that our committee decided to look into all the prisons formerly operated by the NKVD. The prisons were empty of any prisoners, but what we found was great disorder which would indicate that not people, only cattle could have been detained there.

Mr. McTigue. Did your investigation uncover any mass graves or any evidences of mass killings?

Mr. Misiul. Yes.

Mr. McTigue. Where did you find these mass graves?

Mr. Misiul. After we had inspected the prisons we would inspect the yards. In the yard we found something like a dugout, and there was a trail from it as if a body had been dragged along the ground. We went along that trail and into that cellar there where we noted that the walls were spattered with blood, and there were holes in the walls as if from bullets. When we could see better in the darkness, after getting accustomed to it, we noted in one corner a large amount of dry blood. From the evidence it appeared to us that this was the place where many people had been murdered.

Then we went along, following the trail of a body being dragged. This took us to another section of the yard, of the prison, and there we saw a long row of fresh earth. We decided to dig it up and see what was underneath. At a depth of about 1 foot we began to find bodies. When we had removed more of this upper layer of earth we found that bodies were lying close, one on top of each other. The condition of these bodies indicated that they had only recently been killed and buried.

Mr. McTigue. Who were the victims, in general classification?

Mr. Misiul. It was the civilian population of the surrounding countryside, mostly the better-off farmers whom the Soviet authorities considered to be kulaks.

Mr. McTigue. How many victims were exhumed?

Mr. Misiul. In my presence the first row had been exhumed, counting approximately 200 bodies. Then we started digging deeper and we started working on a second and on a third layer of bodies.

Mr. McTigue. Altogether, how many bodies were found?

Mr. Misiul. In my own presence 200.

Mr. McTigue. Altogether, how many?

Mr. MISIUL. I was not present when the remainder of the bodies had been dug up, but there were, according to what I learned later, more than 500 bodies.

We counted only such bodies that were in a condition to be moved. The lowest layers were in such a condition of decomposition that they could not be touched, and those were not counted. The odor was such that we could not continue exhuming the lowest layers of bodies.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did the committee make a report finally on your findings?

Mr. MISIUL. I don't know because when the Germans came they did not seem to be interested in this problem at all. I know that some people took pictures of these bodies, but I was not personally present at that time.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Was there a finding by medical doctors as to the approximate length of time that these bodies had been buried?

Mr. MISIUL. There were no doctors there. The Polish doctors had escaped before, and the Russian doctors had also escaped with the Retreating Red army. So during this time there was no doctor in the neighborhood. We made our conclusions ourselves, that is our committee, based upon the fact that many of the bodies were still in a stage of recognizability so that their families could recognize their own kin. According to that we classified them as the more recent ones.

The bodies that had been left unclaimed by relatives were finally buried with funeral rights being conducted by a Catholic or Orthodox priest on these unrecognized bodies, and they were put to rest in a Christian grave.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Was the committee able to ascertain definitely that these murders were committed by the Russian Communists?

Mr. MISIUL. We were certain beyond any doubt that all these people had been murdered by the Russian Bolsheviks.

Mr. McTIGUE. What was the name of this prison where you investigated the prison yards?

Mr. MISIUL. The prison of the city of Wilejka. This was attached to the county courthouse of Wilejka.

Mr. McTIGUE. In Byelorussia?

Mr. MISIUL. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you leave Byelorussia?

Mr. MISIUL. In 1944 was the time I left my native land.

Mr. McTIGUE. And when did you emigrate to the United States?

Mr. MISIUL. In 1951.

Mr. McTIGUE. Under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948?

Mr. MISIUL. Yes. The Displaced Persons Act.

Mr. McTIGUE. I have no further questions.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Misiul, for your testimony and your contribution to our hearings.

Mr. McTIGUE. The next witness is Mr. Rusi Nasar.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. NASAR. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF RUSI NASAR, THROUGH THE INTERPRETER,
ROMAN OLESNICKI**

Mr. FEIGHAN. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where are you presently residing, Mr. Nasar?

Mr. NASAR. 611 Ocean Avenue, Brooklyn 26, N. Y.

Mr. McTIGUE. What is your present employment?

Mr. NASAR. Pastry baker.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where and when were you born, Mr. Nasar?

Mr. NASAR. I was born January 21, 1918, in Turkestan.

Mr. McTIGUE. How long did you reside or live in Turkestan?

Mr. NASAR. Until 1940, January 1940.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you receive your schooling and your education in Turkestan?

Mr. NASAR. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were born in the same year that the Turkestan Democratic Republic was established; isn't that correct?

Mr. NASAR. That is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. And the independent Republic of Turkestan was established right after the collapse of the Russian Czarist Empire in 1918?

Mr. NASAR. After the revolution of 1917 the situation in Turkestan was such that there were two autonomous governments established in that region. Geographically the region was divided into two independent governments. One was called the Kukan autonomous province, and one was called the Alash Ordin autonomous province.

Our complete independence was proclaimed in the year 1920 in the city of Samarkand. It was a constituent assembly in Samarkand in 1920 which proclaimed the independence of the Turkestan Republic.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did that consolidate the two autonomous republics?

Mr. NASAR. Yes. From the 2 they consolidated into 1 unit.

Mr. McTIGUE. That was in the year of 1920?

Mr. NASAR. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. How big an area is Turkestan, how many people are in it?

Mr. NASAR. The area is 3,900,000 square kilometers.

Mr. FEIGHAN. I show you this map of the U. S. S. R., which includes all of the non-Russian nations within the U. S. S. R. that have been made captive and occupied by the Russians as well as the other so-called satellite states in Eastern Europe. Could you point out Turkestan for us?

Mr. NASAR. The original Turkestan has now been broken up by the Russians into five Soviet Republics. According to the Soviet census of 1939 the population of that area was 17 million. In addition, there is eastern Turkestan which borders on China and which the Soviets do not concede to be part of Turkestan. It is under Chinese rule actually. It was part of the original Turkestan, with 5 million people in it. It is now part of China. About 2 million Turkestanis left for foreign lands between 1928 and this day.

The majority of these emigres live in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran, Turkey, Arabian lands, and in India; also some few in Europe and other countries. In the United States there are only 22 Turkestanis.

I would like to give the committee a little description of conditions in Turkestan.

Mr. McTIGUE. Are the conditions which you are going to describe the conditions that existed after the Communists took over Turkestan?

Mr. NASAR. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. This is testimony concerning the destruction of the democratic Republican of Turkestan by the Russian Communists?

Mr. NASAR. That is right.

The occupation of Turkestan by Czarist Russia was begun in 1864, and until the time of the October revolution of 1917 there were two Russian governorships established over Turkestan: the General Government of Turkestan and the Stepnoy government. In addition there were two vassal kingdoms subject to Russia, the Emirate of Bukhara and the Khanate of Chiva, Duchy of Chiva.

Actually, there was no revolution in Turkestan in 1917. The only thing that we witnessed was a fight among two powers of occupation, between the Whites and the Reds. After the Czarist occupation of Turkestan all higher and secondary education was prohibited to the Turkestanis.

Mr. McTIGUE. What was the year?

Mr. NASAR. That was during the whole period between 1864 and 1917, the Turkestanis were denied education opportunities. Because of this fact that we had been denied on education, the revolution caught us without any educated leaders. There were the few people who had managed to get an education abroad. They were such misguided idealists that they believed in the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, and they believed implicitly that the Turkestanis would be given complete freedom through the Bolshevik revolution.

This was a great mistake on their part. Already in December 1917 the Red revolutionary forces executed hundreds of Turkestanian citizens who had participated in setting up the autonomous Turkestanian republics. The Turkestanis also had to fight both the White and the Red Russian regimes.

The Bolshevik regime had applied the name of "bandits" to our entire nation. The name they use is "Besmarchi," which means bandits.

We were in open organized combat against the Red occupation forces until the year 1932. The Kremlin dispatched two armies to our territory. The first one was under the command of General Frunze, and the next one was under the command of General Budiouny, with the ostensible objective of doing away with the bandits. Our country called those insurgents patriots and not bandits.

Proof of the strength of the resistance of the Turkestanis can be measured by the fact that the Red Russians had to use their most prominent military leaders in command of those armies to subdue our country. In addition to the two generals who were prominent Red generals, also Kuibyshev and Kirov were employed as commissars for the subjugation of the Turkestanian territory.

In spite of all these efforts and preparation, the Reds were able to occupy only the cities, and in the countryside the actual fight continued well into 1934.

As I remarked before, 2 million of Turkestanis who migrated to other Moslem lands began their migration in 1928. That was during the period of intense persecution of the country by the Red army forces.

Mr. FEIGHAN. You spoke before about the first Turkestan democratic republic established in 1918, and told us of the area. Were not

most all of the people therein Turkestanians and did they not have the same kindred attachments, culture, religion, and folk lore?

Mr. NASAR. The word "Turkestan," if translated to English, means "The home of the Turks." Like other nations, our nation's language is composed of various local dialects but all stemming from the same language.

The Bolsheviks took advantage of this and, beginning in 1925, they started to set up each dialect group as a separate nation so as to divide the Turkestan Republic into different republics.

Mr. FEIGHAN. My question was, during the time of the Turkestanian Democratic Republic in 1918, the people were all of Turk origin who shared the same culture, language, religion?

Mr. NASAR. In the democratic era, in the early 1920's they were all united as one people, with the same culture, language, religion.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Now I believe it was on April 15, 1922, that the second Congress of Turkestanis, Mohammedans, and Samarkands met to plan the independence of the Turkestanian Republic; is that right?

Mr. NASAR. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Subsequently thereto the Kremlin, divided Turkestan, as you say, into five separate so-called Soviet republics?

Mr. NASAR. Union republics.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Within the Soviet Union?

Mr. NASAR. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Now I believe they are referred to as the Republics of Turkmen, Uzbek, Tadzhik, Kirgiz, and Kazakh?

Mr. NASAR. Yes, that is correct.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Did the people of Turkestan want to have their country split up into these five so-called republics?

Mr. NASAR. As an example of how the people felt when the Bolsheviks proclaimed that they will set up an individual Uzbekistan Republic in 1924, that declaration was signed only by seven Russian Communists, and not one local inhabitant would sign it.

Mr. FEIGHAN. The people did not want to have their country divided up that way?

Mr. NASAR. The people absolutely would not have anything to do with this scheme of division of their country into five republics, five Soviet republics.

Mr. FEIGHAN. In the area of Turkestan which the Russians have divided into these 5 Soviet Republics there live approximately 17 million Moslems; is that not correct?

Mr. NASAR. In these 5 Soviet Republics there are 17 million Moslems. In the entire Soviet Union there are 35 million Moslems. That is in Azerbaidzahn, the Crimea, and the Northern Caucasuses and so forth.

Mr. FEIGHAN. How many Moslems are there, approximately, living in the free world located in the Near and Middle East and South Asia, about 350 million?

Mr. NASAR. Up to 400 million Moslems in the entire world.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Is it not very strange that the Russians divided this country of Turkestan that was a cohesive unit into five separate republics?

Mr. NASAR. Divide and rule is the answer to your question.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Divide and conquer; divide and rule.

Mr. NASAR. And because there was national unity among all these 17 million Turkestanis, by splitting them up into different republics, the Russians hoped their national unity would be destroyed.

Mr. FEIGHAN. That same very strange policy used by the Russian Communists is just the opposite to their policy concerning the separation from the U. S. S. R. of any of the non-Russian nations now held captive by the Russian Communists?

Mr. NASAR. You have to recognize the tactics of the Communist regime and then the pattern appears clear. According to the Constitution of the Soviet Union all of the constituent republics have the right of secession from the Soviet Union, but if you dare ask for it, then the name they would apply to such a request of secession would be counterrevolution and treason.

There was a trial in Moscow in 1937 where, among the accused, there were two Turkestanis, Okmal Ikrauo and Feisle Chrodzeyev. Both of them had been former Communists and dignitaries of the party in Turkestan. Those two Communist Party members were tried in Moscow, accused of taking part in a movement for national independence in Turkestan, that they were tied in with a secret party in Turkestan. The name of the secret, independent party was Milli Istaklal.

In 1937—and I do not want to name the city for fear of reprisal to that village—a great number of young Turkestanis were arrested because in the village 150 machineguns had been uncovered. This was the preparation for a rebellion by the Turkestan youth in 1937.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Well, the policy then of the Russian Communists seems very clear. Their policies are always a one-way street, all roads lead only to Moscow.

Mr. NASAR. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. For instance, in Turkestan they divided that nation up in an effort to destroy the national spirit and the aspirations of the people for independence and, on the other hand, they will criticize and condemn anyone who gives any thought to or supports the right of separation from the Russian oppressor for any of the non-Russian nations within the U. S. S. R., is that right?

Mr. NASAR. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. What is the religion of the Turkestan people?

Mr. NASAR. Turkestan is Moslem. All of Turkestan is Moslem.

Mr. McTIGUE. How does the Moslem religion fare at the hands of the Communists?

Mr. NASAR. At first they promised freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of press. All the freedoms were promised originally. But when their rule became firm in our land the first stage was a fight against the Moslem religion. The reason is that the underlying philosophy of the Moslem religion is on basically different foundations and irreconcilable with the tenets of communism.

Our history knows no such term as class warfare. Under the Moslem religion it never existed.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Under Christianity and Judaism there is likewise an irreconcilable conflict.

Mr. NASAR. The reason is that the philosophy of communism is based on materialism. They wish to relate man with matter alone, ignoring the spirit, and materialism breeds hate and hate breeds war.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Nasar, I read in the September 15 issue of the New York Times on page 1 and continuing on page 9—and, incidentally, on page 1 there is a picture of one Hamid Rashid and Rusi Nasar. You are that person, are you not?

Mr. NASAR. Yes. I am that person.

Mr. FEIGHAN. This article reports about your pilgrimage to Mecca this year.

Mr. NASAR. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Would you be kind enough to tell the committee briefly about that pilgrimage and what particular purpose you had besides participating in the religious rites?

Mr. NASAR. Every Moslem, if he only has the means for it—and that means financial means—is under an obligation once in his life to visit Mecca. That was the first reason for my trip.

The second reason is that the emigres from Turkestan who are living in Saudi Arabia and other Moslem countries have reported to us that the Bolsheviks were dispatching missions of Moslems to visit Mecca under official sanction following World War II.

My friend, Rashid and myself—we are friends 22 years—read an article in an anti-Communist journal published by our emigres in Germany. The article stated that Soviet Moslems visit Mecca in order to conduct pro-Communist propaganda in the Moslem world. We, as anti-Communists, wanted to see them with our own eyes, and our purpose was to fight any propaganda of falsehood instituted by the Reds.

This decision was made a year ago. We realized our aim and visited Mecca this year. In Cairo and in other places where we encountered our countrymen of anti-Communist persuasion we were greeted very warmly. The plan was that with the aid of anti-Communist Turkenstanis residing in Saudi Arabia we should meet face to face pilgrims on an officially conducted pilgrimage from the Soviet Union and tell the world the truth about conditions in the Soviet Union, notwithstanding any propaganda to the contrary which they would be making.

We did it in a very simple way. We made an appeal to the Moslem world in the Arabic language. In this appeal to the Moslem world we listed all the laws passed by the Soviet Union which were specifically directed against the Moslem religion.

Then we also offered ourselves as living witnesses to conditions inside the Soviet Union, witnesses of the destruction of our mosques and places of worship. That is how we composed our appeal.

As expected, while we were there, a special plane arrived from Moscow carrying Moslem pilgrims. There were 21 men, 5 Tatars and 16 Turkestanis.

I wish to give a brief description of their reception in Saudi Arabia. There are many Turkestanis in Saudi Arabia, emigres from Turkestan living in Saudi Arabia. Our 20,000 Turkestani youth instituted a propaganda of boycott against those 21 so-called pilgrims, and the slogan was, "Down with the antireligionists. Down with the Moscow agents. They are not true pilgrims, only agents of Moscow."

Even the local population, although it always treats the pilgrims, who are given the title of hadji, with great respect, because of our educational campaign they stood very much aloof from those 21 Soviet pilgrims.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you feel that the Moslemic people in the free world are aware of the persecution of their brothers within the U. S. S. R.?

Mr. NASAR. Yes. This mission, this pilgrimage mission by the Soviets indicates that their official policy is always ready to jump in the direction which is expedient for Soviet propaganda. That is why they will stage cultural missions, religious missions to all parts of the world. It is all done for the purpose of deceiving the free world.

One hadji, a Moslem elder in Arabia, asked those pilgrims a direct question, "Why did the Soviet Government physically destroy some entire Moslem nations such as, for example, the Crimean Tatars, the Chechin-Ingush and other Caucasian nations?"

The answer of the Soviet "pilgrims" was, "This is not the fault of the Soviet Government. It is the fault of those people themselves." They gave the answer that it is written in the Koran that when the Jews, the Israels were a disobedient people, then God punished them and, they say, "This is also what happened here." They said that it is written in the Koran that it is a sin to fight against your own government.

Mr. FEIGHAN. The interpretation is plain, then, that in the minds of the Communists the men in the Kremlin are god; is that correct?

Mr. NASAR. Absolutely; they maintain the power in the Kremlin is higher than that of God. They, naturally, falsify and misinterpret the words of the Koran, because the Koran says clearly that a Moslem should not oppose his own Moslem government. The Bolsheviks twisted the meaning, the real meaning of the Koran.

Another question was put to the Soviet pilgrims, "Is the authority in the Kremlin of Moslem religion so that you dare not oppose it?" Their answer to this was, "We are religious people and politics don't interest us at all."

In my opinion at the present time, unfortunately, the Western World is asleep while the Soviets are very busy and they are able to penetrate into every corner.

Mr. FEIGHAN. From what you have said, could we deduct that the men in the Kremlin are trying to make Moscow the seat of Moslemic culture?

Mr. NASAR. That is what it looks like. Two special institutions of learning have been recently established by the Soviets, one in Tashkent, and the other in Bokhara, the object of which is to teach agents how to reconcile Mohammedanism with communism, and where they teach people from the Moslem world how to penetrate with Communist propaganda into the Moslem world. In other words, they instruct Mohammedans as foreign agents of Moscow to go out and work in the outside Moslem world preaching Communist propaganda.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Is it in Kazakhstan where the Russians have started an industrial center?

Mr. NASAR. Not only in Kazakhstan but also in other parts of Turkestan an industrialization has been started by the Soviets. Our land is very wealthy in natural resources. Ninety percent of all the cotton produced in the Soviet Union comes from Turkestan. That is just one example.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Are the Moslems in the free world much concerned about the persecution of their brothers within the U. S. S. R.?

Mr. NASAR. The great majority are not aware of the actual conditions. Only the well read Moslems in the free world realize what goes on within the Soviet Union.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Counsel.

Mr. McTIGUE. You have a statement you desire to present to the committee?

Mr. NASAR. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that this statement of Mr. Nasar be marked as "New York Exhibit NR 46-A."

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection it will be so ordered.

Mr. Nasar, when you were in Mecca during the period of the pilgrimage a resolution was passed, was it not?

Mr. NASAR. This is the appeal to the Moslem world about the persecution of the Moslem religion in the Soviet Union which was distributed on the occasion of my visit to Mecca.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Has there been a wide distribution of this petition among the Moslem people?

Mr. NASAR. 4,500 were distributed in Mecca.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you have a translation of that into English?

Mr. NASAR. I will get it.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that this petition which is entitled, "Proclamation to the Moslemic World," which is signed by Mr. Nasar and Hamid Rashid, and which is written in Arabic, dated August 7, 1954, be marked for identification and admitted into the committee records as New York exhibit NR 47.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I also suggest, Mr. Chairman, that when the translation of this proclamation is received, which will be prepared through the Voice of America, that the translation be admitted into the committee records and marked as New York exhibit NR 47A.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you emigrate to the United States?

Mr. NASAR. November 7, 1951.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you admitted to the United States under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948?

Mr. NASAR. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. The committee wishes to express its appreciation for your testimony, Mr. Nasar. You have performed a very noble service in exposing to the Moslems the false propaganda of the Russian Communists. You have performed a great service to the Moslemic religion and to all the peoples in the free world as well as the peoples in the nations enslaved by the Russian Communists. I wish to congratulate you.

Mr. NASAR. Thank you.

Mr. FEIGHAN. The next witness, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. McTIGUE. The next witness, Mr. Chairman, is Mr. Maksui Bek.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you state your name, please.

Mr. BEK. Maksui Bek.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BEK. Yes.

TESTIMONY OF MAKSUI BEK, THROUGH THE INTERPRETER, ROMAN OLESNICKI

Mr. McTIGUE. Where are you presently residing?

Mr. BEK. My address is 99-44 62d Road, Forest Hills, Long Island, N. Y.

Mr. McTIGUE. In what capacity are you presently employed?

Mr. BEK. I work at Daniel's as a pastry baker.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you born and when?

Mr. BEK. I was born May 15, 1914, in Turkestan.

Mr. McTIGUE. You received your education in Turkestan?

Mr. BEK. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you also teach school?

Mr. BEK. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. In what grades?

Mr. BEK. I was a teacher in a college.

Mr. McTIGUE. What university?

Mr. BEK. In Tashkent.

Mr. McTIGUE. After the Communists had occupied Turkestan isn't it true that they made every effort to eradicate the culture and language and religion of the Turkestanis and replace it with something else?

Mr. BEK. The first thing which the Communists did after occupying Turkestan was start a fight against religion, for the reason that in Turkestan religion is very deeply rooted in the people, and they came out with their propaganda slogan that religion is the opium of the people. This was the first stage.

The second objective was to destroy the economy of Turkestan. In that second stage of the campaign the Reds arrested all the wealthier people and deported them to Siberia.

In 1926 they began another stage which was called the ideological fight. At that time the Communists arrested all the educated people of Turkestan such as writers, artists, scientists, poets, and all people who had a national feeling for Turkestan and was educated under a free system.

In 1929 the Communists started a policy of collectivization and of taking the lands away from the wealthier farmers. In order to strengthen their collectivization of the farms, the Soviet Government conducted a campaign of deliberately starving the land of Turkestan between 1929 and 1932.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did they also attempt to destroy the educational system and replace it with the Soviet system of education?

Mr. BEK. The schools had already been changed into the Soviet system as early as 1924.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you stay on and teach in the college under the Soviet system?

Mr. BEK. I was a teacher in the college between 1938 and 1939.

Mr. McTIGUE. How long did you live in Turkestan?

Mr. BEK. Until 1939. I volunteered into the Soviet Army in 1939.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you fight in the Soviet Army through the period of World War II?

Mr. BEK. The unit to which I was attached was stationed in the city of Riga in Latvia.

Mr. McTIGUE. After World War II what happened?

Mr. BEK. When the Germans occupied Riga I escaped.

Mr. McTIGUE. You escaped from the Soviets?

Mr. BEK. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where did you go?

Mr. BEK. I lived with some friends of my parents who had been long time residents of Riga. I stayed with them about 7 months.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where did you go after the war was over?

Mr. BEK. Germany.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you emigrate to the United States?

Mr. BEK. In 1949—under the Displaced Persons Act.

Mr. McTIGUE. My understanding, Mr. Chairman, is that the witness' prepared statement goes into a great many more details than he has been able to present in his oral testimony before the committee. May I suggest that this statement be marked for identification and put into the committee record as New York exhibit NR 48?

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

We heard at previous hearings in Munich, Germany, and here in New York from eyewitnesses about the man-made famine in Ukraine during the years from 1932 to 1933 when over 6 million people were starved to death.

Mr. BEK. About 2 million people perished from a famine in Kazakhstan, Uzbek, and Turkestan around the 1932 period by the same method, a state-engineered famine, such as that in the Ukraine, and I am familiar with the facts.

When I was a university student in the city of Tashkent, I saw with my own eyes in the year 1932 many people dying of starvation by the roadside on the road leading to the city of Tashkent.

Mr. FEIGHAN. During the years 1929 through 1932 there was not an abnormal crop in those areas; is that correct?

Mr. BEK. Regardless of the harvest, the main reason for the famine was that the people refused to work for the collective farms, they refused to work for the Communists because the ownership of land had been taken away from them.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Did not the Russian Communists use some of the same tactics as they did in the Ukraine by gathering up the grain and withholding it, sending it to Russia, and exporting it?

Mr. BEK. Exactly the same.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you have any further questions, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. McTIGUE. The forced famine in Turkestan which you have described here today in your testimony followed the same pattern as the forced famine in the Ukraine; is that correct?

Mr. BEK. Yes, that is correct. It was the policy to disarm the farmer by taking the land away from him, and then when he is beat into a proletarian he will be obedient to the regime's orders.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Bek. The committee is very appreciative of your testimony and of your contribution to our hearing.

The next witness.

Mr. McTIGUE. The next witness, Mr. Chairman, is Mr. Hamid Rashid.

Mr. RASHID. Hamid Rashid.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you raise your right hand? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. RASHID. I do.

TESTIMONY OF HAMID RASHID

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Counsel.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where are you residing at the present time?

Mr. RASHID. I live in Brooklyn.

Mr. McTIGUE. What is your present employment?

Mr. RASHID. I am working for a furniture company in Brooklyn.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where and when were you born?

Mr. RASHID. I was born September 14, 1912, in the village of Bolu, South Ural. It was under the Czars.

(The written statement, as the direction of Mr. McTigue, is copied into the record as follows:)

My name is Hamid Rashid. I was born on September 14, 1912, in the village of Bolu (another name is Bikkul), near the city of Orenburg (now Chkalov) South Ural, U. S. S. R.

After finishing elementary school in 1924 I attended the Tataro-Bashkir pedagogical school in Orenburg for 6 years, completing my course, which included 2 years of practical experience as a teacher, in 1932.

During these 2 years I taught in Tatar and Bashkir schools as follows: First year, Tatar elementary school in the village of Uuraptal, and Tatar summer school in the town of Meleuz, Bashkir Autonomous Republic. Second year, Tatar and Bashkir professional technical schools in the village of Temyas, Baymak Region, Bashkir Autonomous Republic. (Subjects, Tatar language and geography.)

In August 1932 I had to go to Turkestan where I was assigned to teach geography in the Uzbek Pedagogical School. At the same time I studied at the Evening Pedagogical Institute where I completed courses in the Uzbek language and literature. I then entered the Central Asiatic University in Tashkent where I majored in geography in 1937.

Afterwards I taught in Uzbek Pedagogical School in the town of Margelan. In 1940 to 1943 I taught in Turko-Tatar schools in the South Ukraine (Skadovsk Region) and in Byelorussia.

In February 1943 I was deported to Germany, with stopovers en route at Vladimir-Volynsk and Chenshochow in Poland. In May 1943 I arrived in Babelsberg near Berlin. There I worked in the metal factory Ahorn. There were different nationalities.

I got the paper, Idel Ural in Tatar language every week. Later I started to write some anti-Communist articles for this paper. Finally I worked in the editorship of the paper, Idel Ural.

On April 4, 1945, I left Babelsberg and went to Bavaria. There I was in several DP camps, Straubing, Mittenwald, Dingolfing. In 1948 I went to the British Zone in Germany and worked with the First Advisory Control Unit of the British Army in Bielefeld. Later I came to the DP camp again and went to the United States of America in August 1951.

ABOUT MY COUNTRY

Idel Ural, which is situated between the Volga River and the Ural Mountains, is a country of 9 million Turko-Tatars and about 2½ million Volga Finns. It was proclaimed an independent state by its National Assembly in December 1917. By April 1918 it was swallowed up by Red Moscow forces and divided into six so-called autonomous republics, and several provinces.

(1) When the Moscow Communists came to power, they closed the Tatar private schools, which had been founded at earlier dates, claiming them for teaching in the Moslem religion (law No. 13, p. 263, issued in 1918).

(2) All priests were regarded as enemies of the regime and were deprived of their social and political rights. (Code of laws of the R. S. F. S. R. 1922, par. 121.)

(3) Mosques and schools in Idel Ural were built with Moslem money. After the Communist upheaval in that country and the passage of the law of April 23, 1918, permitting the Government to confiscate mosques, schools, and all their assets from land to real estate.

(4) Administrators were to double taxes on imams (priests) and moazzins (helpers of priests). The purpose of this was to render them unable to pay the required taxes to the Communists so that the Government could interpret this to mean that this imam or that moazzin defied the law and refused intentionally to pay because of his enmity toward communism.

(5) In 1932 the Communists put into effect their special atheist 5-year plan. The result was that by the year 1937 there was not one mosque or imam left.

(6) In 1930-32 the Communists forced all farmers to adopt the collective farming system so that the workers and farmers might come under Government control. It was a horrible experiment with the people. That meant the Communists committed cruel deeds the like of which have never been recorded in human history.

I HAVE SEEN IN 1930-33

(1) In the village of Murapl from 465 families, 27 families were sent to exile as kulaks.

(2) In the village of Juzei from 143 families, 19 families were sent to exile as kulaks.

(3) Among the exiles from the village of Juzei was my friend Minigali; he escaped at the end of 1932, and in 1933 told me that they were sent to North Kazakhstan (near Akmolinsk) and about 90 percent of the victims died (starvation, cold).

(4) In the winter of 1933 in the town of Margelan (Turkestan) I saw several persons who died by starvation every morning.

(5) In the summer of 1933 for 1 month I was in Orenburg (now Chkalov). There I saw Government agents calling the people to go to the Ukraine, making promises to them for free transportation, free home, including farm equipments. The people in Orenburg had known that millions of people in Ukraine had suffered death and the Government's step means to fill empty places in the villages and towns of those who had died.

(6) My uncle in 1937 was 57 years old, and he was in charge of the distribution of bread, 800 grams per day to the workers. He was asked, Why so little bread? He answered that "the Government's order is I cannot give more." For this the NKVD 3-man court accused my uncle of saying that he told the workers it was your Government's order (Russian Government) not to distribute more bread, and he was sentenced to 10 years, deportation, slave labor, about 100 kilometers south of Arkhangtisk.

His wife visited him twice, once in 1938 because he was sick, and again in 1940, and she told me he was very sick, has no teeth, and was so bad he was working cleaning barracks where other deported people stay in. He worked for the first 2 years in forests and in water up to his knees which, as an old man, made him very sick.

(7) I learned that the famous Tatar woman religious leader Muhlisa Abstay Bubi, who worked in the religious center of Ufa had died in prison in 1937.

(8) Communist aggression against Turk-Tatar culture under Moscow Communist pressure.

Mr. McTIGUE. What is the population of Idel Ural?

Mr. Chairman, maybe we had better proceed through the interpreter.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Yes.

(The remainder of the testimony of Mr. Rashid was given through the interpreter, Roman Olesnicki).

Mr. RASHID. The total population of the Idel Ural is 20 million people, of whom 9 million are Tatars, Turko-Tatars. Then there are about 2,500,000 Volga Finns. Those are the different nationalities that occupy that area. There are Volga Finns, Mordva, and Mari.

Then there are the Russians. About 5,500,000 Russians live in that area; Ukrainians, Jews and Cossacks constitute the rest. It is a multinational territory composed of very many nationalities.

Mr. McTIGUE. Was there established in 1918 an Independent Republic of Idel Ural?

Mr. RASHID. On December 12, 1917, a Constituent Assembly established the Independent Republic of Idel Ural.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Professor Madriu was the first President?

Mr. RASHID. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. How long was the Independent Republic of Idel Ural in existence?

Mr. RASHID. Only about 3 months.

Mr. McTIGUE. What happened to it then?

Mr. RASHID. The Red Russian troops occupied this Republic after 3 months' existence.

Mr. McTIGUE. What is the basic religion of the Idel Ural people?

Mr. RASHID. The Turko-Tatars are Moslems. The rest are Christians, mostly Orthodox; and of course the Jewish population is of the Jewish religion. Also a number of Protestants and Catholics reside in that area.

Mr. McTIGUE. How long did you live or reside in the territory of Idel Ural?

Mr. RASHID. Until 1932, then I moved to Turkestan, paying only visits to my hometown in the summer of 1933, 1936, and 1939.

Mr. McTIGUE. So from 1912, the year in which you were born, until 1932 you were in the territory of Idel Ural?

Mr. RASHID. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you lived there during the time the Communists took over the Government and incorporated the Idel Ural territory into the Soviet Union, is that correct?

Mr. RASHID. Yes, I was there when the territory was taken over by Red Moscow.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did the Communists undertake to systematically destroy or eradicate the Moslem religion as well as other religions in Idel-Ural?

Mr. RASHID. That was later. Preceding the period of the new economic policy there was a period of internal Soviet policy which was called militant communism. This was the period of subjecting all these small nations by force of arms. When that conquest was complete, the new economic policy, giving some measure of free trade and some measure of freedom, was introduced. That policy was in existence between 1923 and 1928.

Mr. McTIGUE. Was it during that period that the Communists started to subjugate all religions in the territory of Idel-Ural?

Mr. RASHID. When they came the Bolsheviks immediately closed down all the Tartar and other non-Russian independent schools which were conducted by religious organizations. These schools were closed down.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were the churches closed?

Mr. RASHID. Churches and church property was confiscated by the state, it was thereafter state property.

After the mosque had been confiscated as state property, upon the application and signature of at least 20 people and with a guaranty that funds would be provided by the congregation to conduct a mosque,

it was returned for the use of the local people. A special contract would be drawn up between the state and the congregation who wished to have a mosque restored to them.

The people had to pay their religious leader and they also had to pay for the upkeep of the place. The contract that was drawn up with the people for the lease of the churches or mosques was drawn in such language as to facilitate the confiscation of that property by the authorities at any time they desired.

For example, the people conduct the Mosque and they had to guarantee that they will keep the building in perfect shape and order. In later years the Government refused to furnish any material to the people to keep the buildings in order. Then the authorities took advantage of that clause in the contract and confiscated the property, closed it down again for "violating the original contract."

Mr. FEIGHAN. Did you make a pilgrimage to Mecca with Mr. Nasar?

Mr. RASHID. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. You heard Mr. Nasar testify this afternoon?

Mr. RASHID. Partly.

Mr. FEIGHAN. What do the Moslem people think about the persecution of their brothers behind the Iron Curtain?

Mr. RASHID. There are differences of opinion. I have heard some opinion expressed, that, "Here we see pilgrims come out of the Soviet Union. That means that there may be freedom of religion there."

But the majority are not of that opinion, and in particular the educated people know about the true conditions.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Rashid, I wish to express the appreciation of the committee for your testimony, and I also wish to congratulate you for the service that you have performed in the cause of the Moslem religion as well as in the cause of the free peoples of the world, and all the people and nations enslaved within the Red Colonial Empire. Thank you.

The next witness.

Mr. MCTIGUE. The next witness, Mr. Chairman, is His Grace Archbishop Mystyslaw Skrypnik.

Mr. FEIGHAN. I will give the oath to the interpreter. Will you state your name?

Mr. PIZNAK. Michael Piznak.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you raise your right hand, please? Do you solemnly swear that the translation which you will make from Ukrainian into English and from English into Ukrainian will be the truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. PIZNAK. I do, sir.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Please state your name, Your Grace.

Archbishop SKRYPNIK. Archbishop Skrypnik, Mystyslaw Skrypnik.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Archbishop SKRYPNIK. I do.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Proceed Mr. Counsel.

**TESTIMONY OF ARCHBISHOP MYSTYSLAW SKRYPNIK, THROUGH
THE INTERPRETER, MICHAEL PIZNAK**

Mr. McTIGUE. Your Grace, where are you in residence now in the United States?

Archbishop SKRYPNIK. South Bound Brook, N. J.

Mr. McTIGUE. You are the president of the consistory of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the United States; is that correct?

Archbishop SKRYPNIK. Yes, sir. And I am also the assistant to the metropolitan of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the United States.

Mr. McTIGUE. How many parishes, priests, and bishops make up your consistory, Your Grace?

Archbishop SKRYPNIK. Ninety-six parishes, four bishops, and one hundred and sixteen priests.

Mr. McTIGUE. Will you tell us, please, where you were born?

Archbishop SKRYPNIK. I was born in Poltava, Ukraine, April 10, 1898.

Mr. McTIGUE. You studied in the Ukraine, you were educated there and ordained in the Ukraine; is that correct?

Archbishop SKRYPNIK. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. How long, Your Grace, did you live in the Ukraine?

Archbishop SKRYPNIK. Until 1944 when I was evacuated.

Mr. McTIGUE. After you left the Ukraine, Your Grace, where did you go?

Archbishop SKRYPNIK. I went to Poland and then to Czechoslovakia.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you at one time a member of the Polish Parliament?

Archbishop SKRYPNIK. Yes, sir; I was a member of the Polish Parliament from 1930 to 1939.

Mr. McTIGUE. After the outbreak of the war between Germany and Russia in 1941, did there come a time when you had the occasion to make a trip through the Ukraine, an official inspection trip; and, if so, can you tell us something about what you saw and what you learned with reference to the Orthodox Church, the persecution of religion by the Communists during the period of the occupation of the Ukraine by the Communists?

Archbishop SKRYPNIK. Yes, I was authorized by the metropolitan, and pursuant to such authorization I visited practically all of the churches in the entire Ukraine from July 1941 until September 1943.

The entire Ukraine religious life was destroyed. I did not find one Ukrainian bishop, although there originally had been 32. I finally met one bishop, Juris Teslenko, Bishop of Vinnitsa, who had returned from incarceration in a Siberian prison and who had contracted tuberculosis and died shortly thereafter.

From my investigations I learned that over 3,000 Ukrainian priests had either been exterminated or had been sent to prisons in Siberia. I also noted that about 90 percent of the Ukrainian Orthodox churches had been either completely destroyed or had been turned into other buildings such as warehouses, barns, et cetera, or had been completely supplanted, after they had been destroyed, and other buildings were put up in their place.

One of the significant things that I noticed was that the Bolsheviks destroyed churches of great historical significance, churches that had been built in the 11th, 12th, 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries and had great historical import insofar as the Ukrainian people were concerned.

As an example, I can illustrate with what happened in Kiev, capital of the Ukraine. St. Michael's Monastery which had been originally built in the 12th century was completely destroyed. In its place was put up a governmental building which was occupied by the governing administration of the Soviet authorities.

There was also destroyed St. Nicholas Cathedral which had been originally built in the 17th century by Hedmund Mazeppa. St. Nicholas Monastery was also completely destroyed. It had been built in the 14th century. In Kiev eight churches which had been of great historical importance had also been destroyed.

In Poltava all the historical churches, numbering 14, had been completely destroyed. They were churches which had been built in the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries.

This same picture was prevalent throughout the other cities and towns and villages of the Ukraine which I visited. Previously all the costly frescoes, gold, silver had been taken from these churches, and the altars completely destroyed.

The condition which prevailed in many of the villages was that the churches were either completely taken apart or they were used for warehouses to store wheat and grain.

Another very grave and important thing I noticed was the systematic destruction of all the historical Ukrainian cemeteries. They were ploughed over and completely destroyed.

It was characteristic that it was practically impossible to find any Ukrainian Orthodox priest. However, there were some instances where you would find an Orthodox priest who came under the jurisdiction of the Moscow-controlled Russian Orthodox Church.

Mr. FIEGHAN. Your Grace, why did the Communists so ruthlessly persecute the Ukrainian Orthodox Church?

Archbishop SKRYPNIK. The Communists knew very well from the history of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church that it was one of the basic reasons of the great difference between the Russian and the Ukrainian culture and way of life.

An example: Although for about 32 years the Russian Orthodox Church came under the jurisdiction, complete jurisdiction of the Moscow patriarch who is completely controlled by the Soviets, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church never recognized and refused to become subject to the Soviet-controlled Russian patriarch.

When the Ukrainian Army finally lost out in 1922, many of the Ukrainian intelligentsia and officers in the Ukrainian Army went into the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in order to propagate and keep alive the spirit of independence of the Ukrainian people.

That is one of the principal reasons that the Russian Soviets wreaked such vengeance on the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Actually the structure of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was destroyed in 1930. However, the Ukrainian residents and people were faithful to their church as is best exemplified in 1941 upon the arrival of the German Army and occupation forces. A number of the holy pictures and church properties were dug up, unearthed. In practically every village

within a few months services were conducted in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and the attendance was very large in these churches.

Although there were practically no Ukrainian Orthodox priests to be found to conduct these religious services, the people themselves read from their prayer books and conducted the services and rites by themselves.

This religious resurgence at that time confirms the fact that the Communists were completely aware of the very important role which the Ukrainian Orthodox Church had played in the Ukrainian national life and spirit of independence of its people.

I wish to give another example of the importance which has been given by the present Soviet Government to the position of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the Ukraine. Although the U. S. S. R. has formally given to the Ukraine Soviet Republic its so-called constitution and even its national flag, and although the U. S. S. R. has seen fit to gain the admission of the Ukraine Soviet Socialist Republic into the United Nations, nevertheless it is significant to note that the operation of any Ukrainian Orthodox Church is strictly forbidden.

Third, the only church that is permitted to exist and to function is the official Moscow-controlled Russian Orthodox Church. The Ukraine does not have any official and separate Ukrainian church. In the Ukraine there is only a representative from the Moscow-controlled Russian Orthodox Church.

Mr. McTIGUE. So, Your Grace, while the Communists have been able to destroy the churches, the cemeteries, the church institutions, they have never been able to destroy the spiritual strength or the national spirit of the Ukrainians; is that true?

Archbishop SKRYPNIK. That is true.

Mr. McTIGUE. It is my understanding, Your Grace, that you are in the process now of preparing a detailed statement on the persecution of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church for submission to this committee at a later date; is that correct?

Archbishop SKRYPNIK. Yes, sir; I will prepare a detailed statement which I would like to put into the record of the proceedings of this committee.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, I am sure that this would be a very valuable contribution to the investigation that this committee is making. We will appreciate very much having the detailed statement of His Grace as soon as it is available.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Yes, indeed, and without objection it will be incorporated in the record immediately succeeding the testimony of His Grace. (The statement is as follows:)

TESTIMONY BY HIS EXCELLENCY, ARCHBISHOP MSTYSLAV SKRYPNIK, ARCHBISHOP OF THE UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES, SOUTH BOUND BROOK, N. J.

The 35-year occupation of Ukraine by the Moscow Communist regime has cost the Ukrainian people oceans of blood, rivers of tears, and millions of graves strewn eastward from the Carpathian Mountains out beyond the shores of the Pacific. And the Ukrainian Orthodox Church has experienced the greatest destruction as that part of the Ukrainian national organism which presented opposition to Moscow in organized form for the longest period of time.

Throughout these 35 years the Ukrainian Orthodox Church lost 30 bishops, more than 3,000 priests, and millions of its faithful, all of whom died brutal deaths whether in the cellars of Soviet prisons, or in the camps of Siberia. Even so, this did not suffice for Moscow, and in 1930 she forbade the existence of the

Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Ukraine, forcing the brutal repression already perpetrated (especially the execution of bishops and priests by firing squad) to a point where the faithful and clergy themselves had to declare the liquidation of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church as a separate religious body. From that time the Ukrainian Orthodox Church remained hidden in the hearts of Orthodox Ukrainians as their most precious treasure.

The formal liquidation of the existence of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church did not satisfy Moscow. Moscow knew of the great role of the church in the entire history of the Ukrainian people. Moscow was aware that proof of this near-1,000-year valuable service of the church to its people remained in cultural-artistic monuments: very valuable libraries, and in particular, architectural pieces which were built through the 10th to 12th centuries. Moscow knew that these remains recalled the history of the Ukrainian nation and church, reminded Ukrainians of stirring experiences and strengthened their faith in the inevitable rebirth of the church and the Ukrainian State. Therefore, with the passion of barbarians, Moscow began to destroy everything which recalled the Ukrainian past. All church libraries were destroyed—above all the world-famous library of the Kiev Seminary which had been begun in the 17th century. The most valuable manuscripts and documents from these libraries were taken to Moscow and along with them many Ukrainian national treasures from the 12th to the 18th century.

In 1931 the destruction of the most valuable architectural remains was begun. The destructive madness was first turned against the capital of Ukraine—Kiev—in which, throughout a period of 2 to 3 years they destroyed the Golden-Domed Michaylivsky Monastery, a creation of Ukrainian Church construction from the 12th century; the Military Cathedral of St. Michael, built in the 18th century by Hetman Mazepa; the Monastery of St. Michael the Holy; tens of churches, the construction of which was begun by the Great Prince Volodymyr in the 10th century; and tens of other churches of historical significance. Moscow gave an order to destroy the Cathedral of St. Sophia, constructed in the 11th century, and the most precious Ukrainian sanctity. Fortunately, the ruin of this treasure was prevented by the storm raised by the foreign press, particularly in America. Even so, this cathedral was closed for masses, and in time an architectural museum was made of it. A worse fate befell the main church of the Percheska Lavra (12th century) which was converted into an antireligious museum.

Such a fate also befell other historical places of Ukraine, such as Poltava, Chernyiv and Pereyaslav. Actually, there is not a place in Ukraine where the most revered national temples of God were not destroyed. The insanity of the destruction of the churches also seized the villages. Those churches which Moscow was not able to ruin up to the beginning of the war in 1939, were almost all converted into theaters, factories, or granaries and stores. The spirit of Muscovite destruction did not omit the cemeteries which also were precious reminders of the past history of their people and churches for the Ukrainian people. They were all destroyed and plowed under, and the valuable headstones in the cemeteries were taken to Moscow for the decoration of the new governmental buildings.

All that described above is only a general review of the golgotha of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church under Muscovite occupation. The methods of destruction used against the Ukrainian Orthodox Church as an organization of people united in the name of Christ were identical with those which Moscow used for the physical liquidation of the Ukrainian people. Against the members of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church they used the terrible methods of genocide which were used in 1932-33 during the artificial famine (which took a toll of over 6 million human victims), or in 1937 when thousands of Ukrainian peasants, workers and intelligentsia were shot and hundreds of thousands were sent to certain death in the forced labor camps.

Despite the force of destruction and suffering which the Ukrainian Orthodox Church experienced under the Moscow government and communism, it remained in the eyes of Moscow an unvanquished, terrible and most dangerous enemy. The following fact will attest to this.

Knowing the strength of the Ukrainian aspirations to freedom and sovereignty of their state, and constantly feeling the force of Ukrainian opposition, Moscow does everything in her imperialistic power to quench these aspirations and opposition. A few years ago Ukraine was permitted to have a separate national flag and anthem, a "separate" ministry was permitted, even a separate minister of foreign affairs was allowed (whose office in Kiev has remained vacant until now), and what is more, a separate representation at the United Nations was permitted. But, Ukraine is not permitted to have a separate church with its own hierarchy and organizational system, separate from Moscow.

As a result of Moscow's attitude toward Ukraine's religious needs today in Ukraine only the apparatus of the Russian Orthodox Church, which for ages has been the instrument of the Russian imperialistic policy is permitted to exist. This apparatus in Ukraine lies directly under the patriarch of Moscow, Alexy, who actually is only one of the members of the central Communist government of the U. S. R. R. His representative, empowered with sole directorship and responsibility is commissar metropolitan exarch, whose name according to the Soviet passport is Ivan Sokolov, a native Moscal and renowned hater of the Ukrainian people.

Although it is difficult to comprehend all the sufferings of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and its faithful children, the last fact strengthens the belief that even though the walls of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church today are not visible to the human eye (which often occurred in the past during the invasions of the Asiatic hordes), the hidden and unvanquished force of the Ukrainian spirit will surely lead the Ukrainian people and their martyred church to a day of resurrection.

(Signed) MISTYSLAV SKRYPNYK.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Your Grace, on behalf of the committee I wish to express to you our deep appreciation for your testimony and presence.

Archbishop SKRYPNYK. I am deeply grateful for the opportunity to appear before your committee and I am most happy that the time has finally come that we are actually now assembling all this evidence as to the terrible destruction, the loss of lives, the human suffering that Communist aggression has brought about.

It is only in this way that we really can start the real fight against communism and finally be able to free the world of its destructive force and to bring about the liberation of the Ukrainian people.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you, Your Grace.

The next witness, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. McTIGUE. The next witness is the Very Reverend Wolodymyr Pylypec.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you raise your right hand? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Reverend PYLYPEC. Yes.

TESTIMONY OF VERY REV. WOLODYMYR PYLYPEC, THROUGH THE INTERPRETER, MICHAEL PIZNAK

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, Father Pylypec has submitted a statement which he has executed for the committee with respect to the persecution and destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in western Ukraine by the Bolsheviks. May I suggest that this be made a part of the committee's verbatim testimony, part of the committee's record as such, and that it be incorporated at this point.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(The prepared statement reads as follows:)

STATEMENT OF VERY REV. WOLODYMYR PYLYPEC, PASTOR OF THE HOLY FAMILY UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, WASHINGTON, D. C., ON PERSECUTION AND DESTRUCTION OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN WESTERN UKRAINE BY THE BOLSHEVIKS

I, Rev. Wolodymyr Pylypec submit the following statement of the acts of persecution and destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine by the Russian Communists.

I was born in the city of Skalat, Province of Galicia, western Ukraine, on February 14, 1902.

I was ordained as a Catholic priest by Metropolitan Sheptytsky on May 27, 1927, and I was a pastor of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in various parishes in western Ukraine until I was evacuated from Ukraine in July 1944.

My statement is based upon incidents to which I was a witness and have personal knowledge and also of other incidents of which I received knowledge and information from most reliable sources which are corroborated and confirmed by unimpeachable documents.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church had been under constant attack and pressure of the Government of the former czars and the Russian Orthodox Church and many cruel methods were used to wipe out the Ukrainian Catholic Church and compel it to become subservient to and part of Russian Muscovite Orthodoxy. To a large extent they were successful and lands were taken by Russia. However, in western Ukraine, whether under Austria, Hungary, or any of the succession states, Ukrainian Catholic Church flourished.

When the Russian Bolsheviks occupied western Ukraine in 1939 the great metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Count Andre Sheptytsky, knew and realized what was in store for his church. He had personal knowledge of the Russian Bolsheviks' attitude toward religion in general and their attitude toward the Ukrainian Catholic Church in particular.

During the first occupation, namely, 1939 until July of 1941, of western Ukraine, conditions followed the normal Russian Bolshevik policy. The Ukrainian Catholic Church and its parishes were stripped of its lands and income and deprived of the right of voluntary contributions and offerings to the church. The churches were further deprived of (a) juridical organization of worship, (b) official adherence of members of worship, (c) organization of manifestations of worship, (d) collections of offerings for worship, (e) propagation of religious faith, (f) development of charity activities, (g) founding of clubs, libraries, brotherhoods and sisterhoods, etc., (h) deprived from giving sacraments for the members of the army and sick persons, particularly those in hospitals.

The teaching of religion was prohibited in the schools and replaced by the teaching of atheism, often with obscene overtones. Many of the leading clergy were arrested and deported, along with members of their parish, to Siberia. Others who stanchly adhered to their Catholic faith were given long sentences of imprisonment without the privilege of any trial, some of the sentences being for life imprisonment or even death.

In my parish in the village of Bilyoslavy on October 21, 1939, the military political commissars of the Red army called a meeting of all the 5,000 residents and stated that a delegate should be elected to a general meeting at Lviv to participate in the proceedings of the union of western Ukraine with the U. S. S. R. Some of my parishioners inquired what was to happen to the Ukrainian Catholic Church in their vicinities. The Russian commissars sardonically smiled and stated that the religious matters would be the private concern of the community and that the said parishioners would not be molested.

When the delegate who had been selected returned to our village he informed us that Russian Communist authorities in Lviv had issued an order that all church properties be stripped of their land and income and deprived of all the rights that I have mentioned previously. Unbearable taxation was further levied against the churches as well as their pastors and anyone failing to make such payments was immediately arrested, heavy sentences were imposed, and they were sent to Siberia.

I and other clergy were forced to attend our sick parishioners and give them religious rites in civilian clothing and at such times of the day when we would escape discovery or notice by the Bolshevik military and occupational authorities.

Furthermore, all teachers and public officials, as well as children, were deprived of the right to attend church services or to have any personal contacts of any kind or nature with the pastor of the church.

There was personally levied on me the unbearable tax of 10,000 rubles but, although I presented documentary and financial proof of my inability to make any payment, I was informed confidentially by one of the Bolshevik finance officers to obtain private and secret contributions from my parishioners and pay the said sum, otherwise I would be immediately deported to Siberia.

In addition to the aforementioned tax, even though I did not have any personal income and did not own any farmlands, cows, or chickens, a demand was made upon me to furnish to the Soviet authorities 100 kilograms of meat within 1 year, 40 liters of milk monthly, 10 dozen eggs monthly, 15 kilograms of butter monthly, 300 kilograms of rye during a year, 500 kilograms of wheat during a year, 600 kilograms of potatoes during a year, and 100 kilograms of vegetables and fruit during a year.

When my parishioners learned of the situation, although they themselves had very little after paying their taxes and assessments of food, et cetera, at great sacrifice, and depriving themselves at times of enough food to maintain themselves and their families, they secretly managed to eke out and contribute the various assessments required of the church and myself in order to preclude my deportation to Siberia. However, as a result of my parishioners complying with the various requirements of the church and myself, the following year the tax assessments and the other demands were more than doubled.

It was taken by the NKVD on a number of occasions to their headquarters and I was questioned for long periods of time and was urged to cooperate with the Bolshevik authorities. Upon my refusal I would be finally let go. However, I was warned and threatened with serious consequences. Finally, the last time the NKVD came for me, some of my parishioners learned about this and a great number of them surrounded my house and others assisted me to escape into the woods. Luckily this took place shortly before the retreat of the Bolsheviks in 1941, prior to the arrival of the Germans, and I was able to avoid arrest and incarceration in prison.

In the neighboring towns and villages many of the Ukrainian Catholic clergy were rounded up, sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, and a number of the Ukrainian Catholic clergy were put to death, such as my colleagues Father Basil Bolinovsky, Father Teodor Czanyz, Father Valdimir Mykytiuk, Father Telep, and Father Jaroslav Czemerlinsky, who are only a few of the 500 murdered and executed Ukrainian Catholic clergy.

Metropolitan Sheptytsky, who was confined to his home and kept in strict surveillance of the Bolsheviks, suddenly died under mysterious circumstances on November 1, 1944. After his successor, Archbishop Josef Slipy, became the ruling prelate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Bolsheviks demanded that the Ukrainian Catholic Church aid in the suppression of the Ukrainian Fighters for Freedom. When this request was categorically refused, another terrible campaign was started against the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the metropolitan, and against the Holy Father.

On April 11, 1945, five Ukrainian bishops, namely, Metropolitan Slipy; Bishop N. Budka, vicar general of the metropolitan; Bishop G. Khomyshyn, bishop of Stanyslaviv; Bishop N. Czarnetsky, apostolic visitor of Volyn; and Bishop J. Latyshevsky, auxiliary bishop of Stanyslaviv, were arrested by the Bolsheviks, together with all prelates and canons and members of the diocesan chapters, and were sentenced to long imprisonment in Siberia and deported to Siberia. Msgr. P. Verhun, the apostolic administrator for the Ukraine, residing in Germany, was also arrested by the Soviets in Berlin and sentenced to Siberia. Bishop Khomyshyn died in prison as a result of the ill treatment by the Soviets.

Several months later, Bishops Kocylovsky and Lakota were also arrested and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment in Siberia. Both Bishop Kocylovsky and Bishop Lakota perished in the Siberian Bolshevik prison. Bishop N. Budka, although he actually was a citizen of Canada, received such cruel and brutal treatment that he finally was driven to insanity.

That part of the Ukrainian Catholic Church which remained in the satellite states soon felt the same pressure. In Carpatho-Ukraine Bishop Teodor Romza, bishop of Mukachiw, who refused to cooperate with the Bolsheviks, was put to death after being "accidentally" run over by a Soviet army truck.

After the seizure of Czechoslovakia, Bishop Paul Gajdich, bishop of Pryashiv, was arrested and condemned to life imprisonment. His auxiliary bishop, Basil Hopko, was likewise arrested and thrown into prison and is still awaiting trial.

The arrest of the bishops, all other high ecclesiastical authorities, as well as the clergy, destroyed the administrative structure of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

As an illustration of the destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, I submit the following data:

In 1939 there were five dioceses. Today all dioceses have been liquidated by the Communists.

The two apostolic administrative and visitor districts have been liquidated. Of the 10 bishops in 1939, all have either been imprisoned, condemned, died in prison, or have been assassinated.

Of the 2,950 secular clergy in 1939, 50 percent have been imprisoned, 20 percent are in hiding or have become refugees, and 30 percent have been forced into schism.

The 500 regular clergy have either been dispersed or imprisoned, together with their three provincial superiors.

Practically all religious activity of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, except services and rites conducted in the underground and in secret, have been obliterated, including all the Catholic schools and institutions and churches. No one can truly estimate the large number of martyrs that the Ukrainian Catholic Church has produced during these years of persecution, which is continuing with ever-increasing ferocity. But, despite these systematic acts of aggression, suppression, and destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, all the evidence available indicates that the vast majority of the clergy and the people in Western Ukraine have remained faithful to the church of their fathers, the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Dated: New York, N. Y., October 14, 1954.

(Signed) REV. WOŁODYMYR PYLYPEC.

Mr. McTIGUE. Father, I understand that you were a pilot in the Ukrainian Air Force in World War I; is that correct?

Father PYLYPEC. I was a member of the Ukrainian Air Force in the years 1918-20 in the struggle against the Communists, Russian Communists.

Mr. McTIGUE. When were you ordained as a priest, Father?

Father PYLYPEC. I was ordained as a priest on May 27, 1927.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where did you reside following the end of World War I prior to your being ordained a Catholic priest?

Father PYLYPEC. In the city of Skalat, province of Galicia, Western Ukraine.

Mr. McTIGUE. Although your statement contains details with reference to the Communist persecution of the Catholic Church in the Ukraine, I wonder, Father, if at this time you would be good enough to briefly tell the committee about the Communist persecution of the Catholic Church in the Ukraine from your personal experiences in that respect.

Father PYLYPEC. Firstly, after the occupation of Western Ukraine by the Bolshevik forces in 1939 the Communists confiscated all the lands and properties of the churches, the properties of the bishops and of Metropolitan Sheptytsky.

The Bolsheviks completely exterminated and prohibited payment of any amounts, monthly payments, as was customary before their occupation, to the Ukrainian Catholic clergy.

Through their administrative regulations the Russian Bolshevik occupation forces issued the following restrictions with regard to the Ukrainian Catholic Church:

Prohibition of juridical organization of worship; prohibition against the official adherence of members of worship in the church. Prevented and prohibited the organization or manifestation of worship. Prohibited any collections or offerings even if they were of a voluntary nature for worship and for the upkeep of the church and its properties.

Prohibited the propagation of the religious faith, the publishing of religious pamphlets, books, prayer books, and the development of any of the church activities.

Prohibited all the charity activities, which was one of the characteristic activities of the church. Prohibited the establishment and operation of clubs, libraries, brotherhoods and sisterhoods, etc.

One of the most cruel orders issued by the Soviet authorities was the prohibition of the clergy from giving the sacraments to members of the Army and sick persons, particularly those in hospitals.

The teaching of religion was prohibited in all the schools, primary, secondary, and in the colleges and universities, and it was replaced by the teaching of atheism, often with obscene overtones.

Mr. McTIGUE. So practically every phase of Catholic life, Catholic education, Catholic worship was attacked and subjugated by the Communist, in Ukraine; is that correct?

Father PYLYPEC. From a practical standpoint the Ukrainian Catholic Church structure was completely destroyed, and it was impossible to hold any open church services or rites. These services and rites had to be held in the underground or in secret, and the clergy had to perform these rites and masses not in their regular religious vestments but in ordinary civilian clothing.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Father Pylypec, why were the Communists so determined to stamp out the Ukrainian Catholic Church?

Father PYLYPEC. There are three reasons for this systematic destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The first reason is of a political nature. Moscow has been using its Russian Orthodox Church to carry on its imperialist policies in the Ukraine and consequently it does not and will not permit any other church to exist except that which has complete adherence to and which is completely controlled by Moscow.

The second reason is of a cultural nature. The Ukrainian Catholic Church in its teachings inculcates into the Ukrainians the western culture and the tenets of Christianity. This of course is completely contrary to the intents and purposes of the Moscow Soviet hierarchy.

The third reason is religious. Moscow is actually trying to establish a third Rome in eastern, south, and central Europe, and consequently very forcefully opposes and attacks the Ukrainian Catholic Church and also the Vatican and all work of the Roman Catholic Church.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Father Pylypec, do you think that the Communists will ever be able to break the national spirit of the Ukrainian people?

Father PYLYPEC. Never, unless they completely destroy the Ukrainian people physically; in other words, exterminate them from the face of the earth.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Counsel.

Mr. McTIGUE. I have no further questions.

Mr. FEIGHAN. On behalf of the committee, Father Pylypec, we wish to express our appreciation for your testimony and presence and contribution that you have made to these hearings.

Father PYLYPEC. I sincerely thank the committee for the opportunity to present my testimony before you which I am now making on behalf of the silent church behind the Iron Curtain which cannot speak for itself.

I also ask the indulgence of this committee and ask that the record, which is known as the White Book on the Religious Persecution in Ukraine which has been prepared in Rome in 1953 and has received ecclesiastical approbation be also entered into the record.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that we incorporate this document by reference in the committee's records and that it also be marked here as "New York Exhibit NR 49."

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, it will be so ordered.

(The statement was marked "New York Exhibit NR 49").

Mr. McTIGUE. The next witness is Mr. Ivan Sharay.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Will you rise and raise your right hand? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SHARAY. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Sharay, you are president of the association of Former Ukrainian Political Prisoners of Soviet and Other Totalitarian Regimes in the U. S. A.; is that correct?

Mr. SHARAY. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And the address of this association is 320 East 14th Street, New York City; is that correct?

Mr. SHARAY. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. You are submitting here a document for the committee record which is in the form of a memorandum addressed to the Secretary of the United Nations concerning Bolshevik terror in the Ukraine?

Mr. SHARAY. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And it is signed by former internees and persecutees from the Soviet labor camps; is that correct?

Mr. SHARAY. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that this be marked for identification and made a part of the committee record, marked as New York exhibit NR 50.

Mr. SHARAY. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection it is so ordered.

(The statement was marked "New York Exhibit NR 50").

Mr. FEIGHAN. The next witness.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Evsevich Kipel.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. KIPEL. Yes.

TESTIMONY OF EVSEVICH KIPEL, THROUGH THE INTERPRETER, ROMAN OLESNICKI

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Witness, you are submitting a statement for the committee describing the Bolshevik tyranny in Byelorussia?

Mr. KIPEL. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. This is your statement and it was executed by you?

Mr. KIPEL. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that this be marked for identification and made a part of the committee records as New York exhibit NR 51?

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection, it will be so ordered.

(The statement was marked "New York Exhibit NR 851").

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Albert Karaly.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. KARALY. Yes.

**TESTIMONY OF ALBERT KARALY, THROUGH THE INTERPRETER,
ROMAN OLESNICKI**

Mr. McTIGUE. Where do you reside, Mr. Karaly?

Mr. KARALY. 51 East 47th Street, New York City.

Mr. McTIGUE. You have a statement that you have prepared for the committee describing Communist tyranny in North Caucasia?

Mr. KARALY. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. This statement was prepared and executed by you for submission to the committee; is that correct, Mr. Karaly?

Mr. KARALY. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that this be marked for identification and entered in the committee records as exhibit NR 52?

Mr. FEIGHAN. Without objection it will be so ordered.

(Received and marked as "New York Exhibit NR 52.")

Mr. FEIGHAN. This will conclude this series of hearings in New York.

On behalf of Chairman Kersten and all the members of the Select Committee To Investigate Communist Aggression, I want to thank each and every witness that appeared before this committee during the 4 days it has been in session here in New York. It is regretted that time did not permit us to hear all the testimony or to receive all the prepared statements of eyewitnesses to the crime of Communist aggression. Perhaps at a later date it will be possible for us to hear those witnesses who have invaluable testimony to give and who have come forward so willingly to give it.

During the 4 days the subcommittee has had eyewitness testimony on almost every phase of Communist aggression and tyranny. Natives of practically all the non-Russian nations enslaved within the U. S. S. R., including Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaidzhans, North Caucasians, Cossacks, Turkestanis and Idel Ural have appeared before us. The testimony they have given, and the documents which they have presented lead me to these preliminary conclusions:

1. The first victims of Communist aggression and ruthless tyranny were the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union which declared their national independence during the years 1917-21. These nations which had once been under the despotic rule of the Czarist Russian Empire established democratic forms of government and bitterly opposed the Bolshevik and other efforts to restore that Empire.

2. The independence of all of these nations was destroyed by Communist methods of internal subversion accompanied by the use of armed forces which invaded those nations without a declaration of war, without provocation, and in the typical Communist method of sneak attack.

3. Soviet Russia entered treaties of peace with practically all of these nations, disclaiming forever any territorial rights to those countries, and then proceeded to violate every one of those treaties.

4. There remains no doubt but what Moscow now controls the largest, the most reactionary and the most despotic colonial empire ever known to mankind. Communism is indeed the opiate of nations.

The committee is adjourned.

(Thereupon at 5 p. m. the New York hearings were adjourned.)

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST TAKEOVER AND OCCUPATION OF THE NON-RUSSIAN NATIONS OF THE U. S. S. R.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1954

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMUNIST AGGRESSION
OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
THE INCORPORATION OF BALTIC STATES INTO THE U. S. S. R.,
Chicago, Ill.

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 10:20 a. m. in room 209, Federal court house, 219 South Clark Street, Chicago, Ill., Hon. Fred E. Busbey, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.

Present: Messrs. Busby, Madden, Machrowicz, and Feighan.

Also present: James J. McTigue, committee counsel.

Mr. BUSBEY. The meeting will come to order.

Mr. MCTIGUE. The first witness, Mr. Chairman, is Mr. Talalas.

Mr. BUSBEY. I think that the record should show at this point that the following other members of the committee are present for this hearing: Mr. Ray Madden of Indiana, Mr. Thaddeus Machrowicz of Michigan, and Mr. Michael Feighan of Ohio.

These hearings will be devoted mainly to the subject of Communist aggression against the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union.

Former residents of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Armenia, and Georgia will give eyewitness testimony on Communist tyranny in their native lands. Several witnesses from Lithuania will also testify about Russian methods leading up to the illegal seizure and forced incorporation of Lithuania into the U. S. S. R.

These hearings are the second in a series in the non-Russian nations of the U. S. S. R. which began last Monday, October 11, in New York City. The hearings in Chicago will close on Tuesday, October 19.

The committee expects to make public sometime this week another report on the Soviet Union's illegal annexation of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia. This report will include findings on these false Soviet claims, together with the conclusions and recommendations of the committee.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, could I speak a word?

Mr. BUSBEY. Yes, Mr. Madden.

Mr. MADDEN. I would like to say, in furthering the statement of our chairman, Mr. Busbey, that this committee was authorized by the Congress a year ago last summer, and that these hearings are a continuation of hearings that were held in Washington, Detroit, New York, and Chicago, London, and Germany, and that the committee has already filed an interim report on the hearings that were held up to the adjournment of Congress.

That report now is a matter of public record, and while our hearings are being held across the water in Europe and England, reports of the proceedings of the committee were carried not only to the free nations of Europe, but also broadcast behind the Iron Curtain by Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America.

The Communist publications and the Communist radio, while we were holding hearings in Europe, viciously attacked the operations of this committee because of the fact that it is engaged in the work of exposing communism and all the criminal aspects of the Communist ideology and their leaders.

I would like to say that when the work of the committee is completed, a final report will be made to the Congress.

Mr. BUSBEY. Does any other member of the committee wish to say anything? Mr. Machrowicz?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Nothing further.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Feighan?

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Chairman, it was my privilege to act as chairman of the opening hearings on the subject of the illegal Communist seizure of the non-Russian nations and their forced incorporation into the U. S. S. R. during the first 4 days of last week.

We also, at that time, heard eyewitness testimony from people who had actually lived through the various programs of persecution engaged in by the Russian Communists against adherents of the Moslem religion. The evidence we secured on that phase of Communist aggression is indeed unique.

The CHAIRMAN. I might further state that we have high hopes that the testimony taken by this committee will be printed in many languages and distributed to the various countries from which the witnesses came.

A great many people might ask, "What is the purpose of this committee?" The committee was originally recommended by a group of people of Lithuanian descent, in Chicago and became a reality with the help of others in the city of New York. The first year of hearings was confined to the means, techniques, and methods by which the U. S. S. R. illegally took over the three Baltic countries; Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

After the committee had held hearings and submitted an interim report on the Baltic countries, the committee was asked to continue its hearings and to investigate Communist aggression in other countries behind the Iron Curtain in Europe, and that is what we have been doing mostly this year.

The evidence presented to the committee will be compiled in the first official document ever printed of testimony given under oath by eyewitnesses. It will be a very historic document, and it will be made available, so that the whole world may know the methods used by the Soviets in taking over these countries.

In addition to the testimony taken, many official documents, which have not previously been made public, have been submitted to the committee to be made a part of the record. The hearings and reports will have great significance and will be of inestimable value in combating the Marxist communism which is today threatening the whole free world.

Mr. McTIGUE. I would like to go off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. BUSBEY. Without objection, then, we will have the witness read his statement and he will be questioned afterward.

The first witness this morning is Mr. Jonas Talalas.

Will you stand and be sworn, please?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give this morning will be the truth, the whole truth, so help you God?

Mr. TALALAS. So help me, I do.

Mr. MCTIGUE. May I suggest that you swear the interpreter here at the same time, since if he is not used with Mr. Talalas here today, I am sure he will be used later on with some of the Lithuanian witnesses who will be here.

Mr. BUSBEY. Give your name.

Mr. JANCUS. Fransi Jancius.

Mr. BUSBEY. Do you solemnly swear that you will interpret correctly and truthfully to the committee all the testimony given the committee by this and all other witnesses who appear before this committee today and tomorrow?

Mr. JANCUS. I do, so help me God.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Counsel?

Mr. MCTIGUE. Will you proceed, Mr. Tolalas, with your statement, please?

TESTIMONY OF JONAS TALALAS

Mr. TALALAS. Thank you very much.

My name is Jonas Talalas. I am 48 years of age; I live at 7137 South Ashland Avenue, Chicago 36, Ill., and I am a citizen of Lithuania.

I left Lithuania on August 4, 1944, fleeing from the second Bolshevik occupation of my homeland, the Independent Republic of Lithuania, and arrived in Germany on the same day.

I came to the United States on October 4, 1949, as a DP from Germany. I lived in a private home in Germany and was employed as the representative of the Lithuanian Red Cross for the Doggendorf region, to aid the Lithuanian refugees. Later, I was employed by the International Refugee Organization at Regensburg as employment officer.

In Lithuania, I had been prosecutor—district attorney—for the district court of Vilnius. I had been in Lithuanian Government service since 1926. For about 3 years, I was with the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the rest of the time with the Ministry of Justice, as court investigator in various localities.

When the city of Vilnius and a part of Vilnius region were restored to Lithuania in October 1939, I was appointed as the assistant district attorney at Vilnius. My superior was District Attorney Juozas Brazinskas, who now lives in the United States in Yonkers in New York.

In accordance with the court routine, I was placed in charge of the criminal investigation department, public police, all prisons in Vilnius and assisted the prosecutor in the other duties.

As agreed in the Mutual Aid Pact with the Soviet Union, there were in Lithuania at this time Russian Bolshevik military bases. One of these bases was not far from the city of Vilnius, at Naujoji Vilnija, while part of the Russian troops were in Vilnius itself, before leaving for their prearranged base.

In the last half of May 1940, the Russians accused the Lithuanian Government of kidnaping of two Soviet soldiers, Smavgonec and Pisarev, from their camps in Vilnius. In order to prove to the Bolsheviks that their accusations were false, the Lithuanian Government formed a committee to investigate the Bolshevik charges. The Cabinet of Ministers appointed my superior, District Attorney Brazinskas, chairman of this committee, and jurisconsult of the Ministry of Internal Affairs Antanas Jakobas, and Military Tribunal Investigator Lieutenant Colonel Korlas as members of the committee.

Bolshevik representatives were also appointed to the general committee and invited to attend the investigation, but they did not appear. The committee carefully began the investigation of the Bolshevik charges without the Bolshevik representatives.

As chairman of the committee, Attorney Brazinskas and Members Jakogas and Korlas conducted their investigation in an office next to mine and all those concerned went through my office, and I came to know all that was going on. Since Attorney Brazinskas devoted himself solely to the investigation, I had to perform his duties.

A thorough investigation of the Bolshevik charges disclosed that nobody had ever kidnapped any Russian soldiers and that the accusation was only a planned and crooked ruse by the Bolshevik Government to establish a precedent for accusing the Lithuanian Government of an unfriendly act and, as later events showed, to seize Lithuania.

During the investigation by the committee, an official of the Criminal Investigation Department, Dimavicius, established through his agents the fact that one Russian soldier had deserted his company and had, for some time, hidden in one Miss Savicka's apartment in a suburb in Vilnius. This soldier later left the girl's apartment, and Savicka, for some time afterward, brought food bundles to him in a forest outside the town.

As far as I recall Miss Savicka's testimony, she said that this same soldier voluntarily returned to his camp some time later. As evidence, our criminal investigation department policeman took a Russian Army blanket from the girl's apartment, and Savicka herself gave them a photograph of the soldier which he had given to her, and several other things left by the Soviet deserter which were also found in the apartment.

From the inscription on the photograph, it was clear that the Soviet soldier was the same Smavgonec for whose abduction the Soviets had accused the Lithuanian Government.

As for the second reportedly missing soldier, Pisarev, it was not definitely established whether there had ever been such a person, since the Soviet Government charged that their soldiers had escaped their Lithuanian kidnapers by fleeing through the chimney and underground sewers, but they refused to show the Lithuanian committee these soldiers or to interview them. It was clear that this whole affair was a Bolshevik-planned provocation.

Lithuania's Prime Minister, Antanas Merkys, was to go to Moscow on June 6, 1940, to discuss the alleged kidnaping of the Soviet soldiers with Soviet Commissar Molotov, because it had been clearly established where Smavgonec was, a rush order was issued to question Savicka in detail.

As assistant prosecutor, I had the duty to carry out this order. My superior and the chairman of the investigation, Brazinskas was, at the time, in Kaunas.

I remember well that I instructed the chief of the criminal investigation department at Vilnius to bring Savicka to the headquarters of the criminal investigation department for detailed questioning. To eliminate any chance of Soviet complaints that Savicka's testimony was obtained by force, I invited to be present at the questioning the following pedagogs: First, Vilnius University rector, Prof. Mykolas Birziska, now living in Los Angeles, Calif.; second, girls' gymnasium director, Dr. Marija Krasauskaite, now living in Philadelphia, Pa.; and third, boys' gymnasium director, Stasys Kairiukstis—

Mr. BUSBEY. Pardon me. I wonder if you would read a little slower, because sometimes we miss part of your statement; and please read louder.

Mr. TALALAS. Without letting them know in advance the purpose of the invitation, because I, myself, had too many other duties at that time, I appointed Assistant Prosecutor Ignas Savickas, now living in Hamilton, Canada, to represent the prosecutor's office.

The questioning was conducted by officials of the criminal investigation department—Dimavicius and Pievaitis—while inspector of the same department, Alekas Mauragis, participated in the entire interrogation.

Jadvyga Savicka freely told how Russian soldier Smavgonec had lived in her apartment. Details of her testimony can be had from Prof. M. Birziska, Dr. Krasauskaite, Aleksas Mauragis, Ignas Navickas, and also Stasys Grigaravicius, who also was an official of the criminal investigation department and who, at the present time, lived in Chicago.

The Bolsheviks arrested official Dimavicius and Miss Savicka as soon as they occupied Lithuania. Miss Savicka's lengthy statement was given to Prime Minister Antanas Merkys as he was leaving for Moscow on June 6, 1940.

I want also to tell about some border incident which took place before the Soviet invasion of Lithuania on June 15, 1940. I do not recall whether it was 2 or 3 days before this invasion that the Vilnius prosecutor's office received a telephoned telegram from Vilnius Border Police Chief Liaudinskas, stating that in the Sunkas region on the Lithuanian border, near Barvoniskiai village, the Soviet troops had seized two of our border guards and dragged them across the border.

We immediately notified the Lithuanian Government in Kaunas. I do not remember the names of these two guards. This seizure of two of our border guards excited all of us. I, myself, wanting to know the details of this case, phoned to their commanding officer, Kanys Kanevicius, but he explained in our telephone conversation that he, himself knew very little about the matter because the Soviet guards did not even speak to the Lithuanians.

One day later the Lithuanian guards were brought back to the border and released into Lithuania. Upon their return, the Lithuanian guards related how, while they were patrolling the border, they had been suddenly surrounded by Russian border guards and NKVD men and they had been taken across the border by force.

In the Soviet camp, they had been separated and each of them had been terrorized and interrogated by the Soviets who wanted to know whether the Lithuanian Government was concentrating its troops along the border against the Russians. One or two days after the return of the Lithuanian border guards, the Soviets invaded Lithuania.

The second incident along the border was near Uta village, in the jurisdiction of the Varena border police. This incident took place, as I recall, June 13 or 14. Varena Border Guard Chief Vaisiunas notified the Vilnius prosecutor's office by telephoned telegram that the Bolsheviks had shot Border Guardsman Barauskas, whose first name I do not remember, in or near his guardhouse on the border.

Varena District Prosecutor Petras Minkunas was put in charge of this investigation of this case, while Vilnius Prosecutor Ignas Navickas was sent to study the post-mortem examination of the guard's remains and to take part in the investigation. Investigator Petras Minjunas now lives in Brooklyn, N. Y.

As I remember it, Assistant Prosecutor Ignas Navickas was on his way to the investigation on June 15, 1940, and the invading army met him on his way. After the occupation of Lithuania, the files of this case were taken by the Bolshevik officials from Investigator Minkunas and thus vanished.

On May 12, 1940, a Soviet deserter, Butajev, was being tracked down after he fled from the Russian camp. When he was almost surrounded by the police, he shot himself. A Red army physician and other officials participated in the examination and autopsy on the deserter's remains. It was clearly established that Butajev had committed suicide, and every official present signed the report, yet later, the Tass Agency issued a report accusing Lithuania of Butajev's death, saying that the Lithuanians had killed him.

Assistant Prosecutor Vytautas Rackauskas, now living in Canada, but soon emigrating to Detroit, Mich., participated in the autopsy. Other people who took part in the investigation are either in Lithuania or were deported to Siberia.

Shortly after the Bolshevik occupation of Lithuania, there began the nighttime arrests in Lithuania. There was yet nothing said about the puppet People's Diet or the incorporation of Lithuania, but the NKVD was already making the nightly arrests of the people and putting them in prisons.

They emptied one section of the Vilnius Prison and used it for imprisonment of those whom they had arrested. According to the laws of Lithuania, no person could be arrested without the knowledge of the prosecutor's office, so now the people began calling our office and complained about the arrests of the persons close to them.

As I said before, I was in charge of the prisons, so I went to the NKVD officials who were even then issuing all orders in the name of the Lithuanian security police. I protested that their acts were illegal and demanded to see some of those who had been arrested.

My protests and demands were rejected and I was forbidden to enter the prison. At that time, Gladkov and Tarasov had been sent from the Soviet Union as NKVD officials.

After the Bolshevik invasion of Lithuania on June 15, 1940, I remained in my post for 3½ months, until the district attorney's office was absorbed into the judicial system of the Soviet Union, and the

chief U. S. S. R. prosecutor sitting in Moscow become chief prosecutor of Lithuania.

I drew 1½ months' vacation for the time served and for the 2 months I witnessed Bolshevik terrorization, deceit, and treachery. Even before the Lithuanian prosecutor's office was absorbed by the Moscow system, three prosecutors, Lubencov, Kass, and Girko were sent in from the Soviet Union.

They immediately took over and issued all the orders. I was released from my duties October 1, 1940, by order of the Russian prosecutor, Lubencov, and I have in my possession a copy of his order for my discharge.

After my discharge, I left for the country and for this reason I escaped deportation, because the NKVD came to my apartment on the night of June 13-14 to arrest me, but did not find me there, and the local guard and my neighbors did not tell them where I had gone.

I would like to say in general that, having known the Bolshevik system for not quite 1 year, I can confirm the fact that everything in the Soviet system is based on lies, deceit, and terror. All the Soviet laws which are published are only for fooling the rest of the world. In reality, no person under the Soviet system is ever protected by the constitution or any law or laws.

That is what I wanted to relate briefly to you.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Counsel.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Talalas, in what capacity are you employed at the present time?

Mr. TALALAS. I am employed by the Lithuanian American Council in Chicago.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is that the same organization of which Doctor Grigaitis is a leader?

Mr. TALALAS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And does Mr. Simutis also hold office in this organization?

Mr. TALALAS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And is Miss Mary Kizis also a member of that organization?

Mr. TALALAS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. How many people of Lithuanian descent do you estimate reside in America?

Mr. TALALAS. It is difficult to say. We have in America about 1 million Americans of Lithuanians extraction.

Mr. McTIGUE. And your Lithuanian Council is representative of the people of Lithuanian descent in this country; is that correct?

Mr. TALALAS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, as you pointed out here previously, it was through the efforts largely of Doctor Grigaitis and Doctor Talalas and the Lithuanian American Council that the investigation was initiated into the illegal seizure of the Baltic States and there forced incorporation into the U. S. S. R.

And I cannot emphasize too much the great contribution that these people make toward that end. And, of course, this the authority of investigation has been expanded to include all the nations which have been seized by the Communists.

Mr. BUSBEY. I might add, Mr. Counsel, that: the Consul of Lithuania now is Mr. Petras Dauzvardis. Also two prominent people in the

Lithuanian American Council are Mr. and Mrs. Anthony Rudis. They were very active in helping to set up the committee and to get the resolution through the Congress.

Mr. McTIGUE. And I think, Mr. Chairman, that the testimony which has been given here this morning is very important for this reason: throughout the hearings you will recall I am sure, as well as the other committee members, that the point was made time and time again that the Russians had claimed as one of the reasons for moving into and occupying Lithuania was that there were border violations and that Russian soldiers had been kidnaped.

We have had a wealth of testimony on that score. But for the first time we have had a witness before the committee who personally investigated these charges.

It was in his line of duty.

Mr. TALALAS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now going to that point you testified here that you had interrogated a Miss Savicka.

Mr. TALALAS. She signed the statement to this effect in front of witnesses. This statement was given to Prime Minister Merkys who brought it to Moscow.

Mr. McTIGUE. So she signed the statements to the effect that one of the soldiers whom the Soviet had claimed was kidnaped was with her during the entire period; is that correct?

Mr. TALALAS. That is correct, yes. She signed the statement and she provided the photograph of this soldier.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now that statement was given to Mr. Merkys, the Prime Minister of Lithuania at the time?

Mr. TALALAS. Yes, on June 6, 1940. And he took it to Moscow.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did he present that affidavit and that evidence to the Soviets?

Mr. TALALAS. Mr. Merkys said that he presented this evidence to the Russians.

Mr. FEIGHAN. That evidence was very corroborative, most convincing evidence to answer the charge by the Russian Communists; is that not correct?

Mr. TALALAS. That is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did he ever get any answer after presenting this evidence which put the lie on the Russian claims?

Mr. TALALAS. No.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did the Lithuanian officials ever receive any answers of any kind?

Mr. TALALAS. No.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did the Russians persist right along that these violations had occurred, and as a consequence gave this as one of the reasons for invading Lithuania?

Mr. TALALAS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And these border incidents to which you referred, Mr. Talalas, you made, or had, under your direction, conducted investigations?

Mr. TALALAS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. I am referring to alleged violations by Lithuanians.

Mr. TALALAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. And the Soviet made much of those alleged border violations; isn't that correct?

Mr. TALALAS. That is correct; yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. But the investigation conducted by you and the district attorney's office put the lie to Soviet claims in those respects?

Mr. TALALAS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now, when you were in Lithuania, you testified that during the time of the Russian occupation of Lithuania there was mass deportation?

Mr. TALALAS. Yes. I was in Lithuania. I escaped myself from deportation.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you get any word that you were also on the list for deportation?

Mr. TALALAS. No. I had no such knowledge. But they came at night and just arrested people without any cause or warrant or anything whatsoever.

Mr. McTIGUE. Well, all of the leaders and prominent officials in the cities and villages throughout Lithuania were being arrested and deported; isn't that correct?

Mr. TALALAS. That is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you, as a prominent official, as a District Attorney, knew that your turn would come very soon; isn't that correct?

Mr. TALALAS. That is most correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now, a great many of your friends and relatives were deported at this time—arrested and deported?

Mr. TALALAS. Yes, many of my friends and relatives were deported.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now, these big deportations occurred at what period?

Mr. TALALAS. The big deportation occurred in 1941, June 13 and 14.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you there? Did you see these deportations being carried out?

Mr. TALALAS. Yes. I was an eyewitness to the deportation.

Mr. McTIGUE. How large was your village? What was the population of it?

Mr. TALALAS. The village was near a large town. That town was 30,000 population. It was a very small village. Only about 50 people lived in it.

Mr. McTIGUE. How many people were deported from that very small village?

Mr. TALALAS. Thirteen people.

Mr. McTIGUE. Throughout Lithuania, in 1941, have you any information as to the number of people who were arrested and deported to Soviet Russia?

Mr. TALALAS. The total of deported was over 36,000 and arrested about 12,000.

Mr. McTIGUE. As I recall one of the witnesses appearing before our committee previously at Wilkes-Barre, Pa., had evidence that there were more people deported than your figures indicate.

Mr. TALALAS. 18,000 more. We have only material covering the numbers I have given.

Mr. McTIGUE. And as I recall, Mr. Talalas, identifying evidence was also presented, such as the box car numbers, the names of the people who were on guard at the time the arrests were made, and the people who were put in cattle cars?

Mr. TALALAS. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. And other details of that nature were also submitted?

Mr. TALALAS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. You believe the evidence that was submitted in connection with the 18,000 deportees was genuine?

Mr. TALALAS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you leave Lithuania?

Mr. TALALAS. I left Lithuania on August 4, 1944.

• Mr. McTIGUE. Did you go to Germany at that time?

Mr. TALALAS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you emigrate to the United States, Mr. Talalas?

Mr. TALALAS. In October 4, 1949.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you emigrate under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948?

Mr. TALALAS. That is right.

Mr. McTIGUE. One more question, Mr. Chairman.

Is it my understanding, Mr. Talalas, that as a secretary of the Lithuanian Council, you, at this time, or some time before the hearings here in Chicago are concluded, desire to submit some statements and documentary evidence concerning the Communist takeover of Lithuania?

Mr. TALALAS. We have 1,500 additional witnesses who wish to testify before the committee and have many written documents which we wish to have included in the record, sir.

Mr. MADDEN. I didn't get the number of additional witnesses who wish to testify.

Mr. TALALAS. Fifteen hundred. All have asked to testify.

Mr. MADDEN. Where are those 1500 located?

Mr. TALALAS. All over the United States. There are 136 requests from Cleveland alone, for example.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Are those eye-witnesses?

Mr. TALALAS. Yes. 136 in Cleveland alone.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Talalas, naturally the committee, in its limited time, will not be able to hear all the 1500 witnesses, as much as we would like to do so.

Mr. TALALAS. I know; yes.

Mr. BUSBEY. But without objection, we will have the statements submitted to the committee to be considered as part of the record of the committee hearings.

Mr. TALALAS. Yes, thank you.

Mr. McTIGUE. And in that respect, may I suggest, Mr. Talalas, that when you have your records together, and when you have determined upon the information you wish to present to the committee, that you appear here again before the committee concludes its hearings so that we may admit this testimony as part of the committee record as exhibits?

Now, will you be prepared to do that before the committee leaves Chicago?

Mr. TALALAS. We will try to do that.

Mr. McTIGUE. I have no further questions.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Madden?

Mr. MADDEN. Dr. Talalas, in your official capacity with the Lithuanian nation before you came to this country and since, are you acquainted with the economic conditions within Lithuania as of today?

Mr. TALALAS. No.

Mr. MADDEN. The committee would like to record what knowledge you have as to how the present Lithuanian Communist Government is dealing with religion of all kinds within Lithuania.

Mr. TALALAS. As much as I have been able to find out, there is the greatest possible religious persecution going on in Lithuania today.

Mr. MADDEN. As of today and since the Communists have taken over?

From your knowledge of communism and its ideology, would you say that the Communists, when they receive or obtain complete control of a nation, would they tolerate or allow religious worship to exist at all within the confines of the nations they control?

Mr. TALALAS. When the Bolsheviks take over any nation, there is no religious or personal freedom of any kind permitted, and no individual ideological—no individual is allowed to show his ideological leanings or tendencies.

Mr. MADDEN. In other words, every individual under the Communist rule is under complete subjection to the Communist tyranny?

Mr. TALALAS. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. Now, Doctor, you have related the methods and the blueprints used by the Communists in taking over the Lithuanian nation. I might say for the record that this committee has taken testimony from not only former leaders, but citizens who lived under the Communist regime in all other captive nations like Poland and Hungary and Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia and Rumania, and we have taken testimony of people who are familiar with the Communist blueprint that they used in taking over those nations, and we have found that the blueprint is the same.

Mr. TALALAS. That is right.

Mr. MADDEN. Practically the same that was used in taking over Lithuania. Now, I notice—and no doubt you have read—where the leaders—two leaders—of the British nation, England, took a trip to Moscow.

Mr. TALALAS. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. They took a trip to Communist China.

Mr. TALALAS. I read only in the papers.

Mr. MADDEN. That is right. I read it in the papers.

Can you see, by reason of your experience with communism, the same blueprint working on England that was worked on Lithuania and these other nations? I would like to have the doctor express his opinion on that.

Mr. TALALAS. I have not been in England personally, but from the news that I have read of the trip of Mr. Attlee and Mr. Bevin to Russia and China, I presume that there were two purposes: First, a propaganda purpose of their own, and secondly, that it is evident that some sort of Russian plan is being evolved for England.

In any such statements that I have read as a result of Mr. Attlee's trip, that there is freedom for individuals and of religion in those countries, is nothing but complete deceit.

Mr. MADDEN. In other words, the purpose of the Communists in inviting Attlee and Bevin to these Communist countries was to place before them some false aspects. If the Communists' economy has any good aspects, it was placed before them in order for them to send out propaganda regarding communism?

Mr. TALALAS. Without any doubt.

Mr. MADDEN. And previous to these nations like Lithuania and the others that are today under the Communist heel, the same semifriendly attitude on the part of the Kremlin was shown to those nations before they were taken over by infiltration?

Mr. TALALAS. It is the Russian system to make as great possible propaganda in unoccupied countries that they allow the greatest possible freedom in Russia and in the land that they have taken over. Practically, it is entirely the opposite.

I have also met here in the United States many intellectuals who do not understand this question whatsoever and who do not admit our explanations.

Mr. MADDEN. Doctor, is the same policy that the Communists are using in South America and countries like Guatemala not the same that was used on Lithuania?

Mr. TALALAS. It is a copy, an exact copy.

Mr. MADDEN. Thank you.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Feighan?

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Talalas, I am certain that you will find very revealing and be in complete accord with the findings of this committee in its third interim report which we expect will be published later this week which documents and explodes the false claims of the Russians concerning the legality of the incorporation by the U. S. S. R. of the Baltic nations of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

Mr. TALALAS. I saw only the second interim report.

Mr. FEIGHAN. I am referring to the third interim report which we hope will be made public this week. It has already been sent to the printers.

Mr. TALALAS. Yes.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Talalas, your testimony this morning has substantiated testimony given this committee by other witnesses to the effect that under no circumstances can the Soviets be trusted, that the charges they make against these nations have no foundation in fact or truth whatever, and that they only make them and use them as a means to an end which is the taking over illegally of these countries that they have put behind the Iron Curtain.

I would like to ask you this: Judging from your sources of information in Lithuania, is it your opinion that the people of Lithuania are just as determined today to continue their fight for their independence as they have ever been since Lithuania became a subjugated nation?

Mr. TALALAS. I think they will fight as much as possible, since there is no other alternative, and the Lithuanian people have only one hope. They are awaiting the day that someone will free them from this tyranny.

Mr. BUSBEY. From testimony given by various people regarding the present situation in Lithuania—and some of the witnesses had just recently escaped—I gained the impression that the beasts of the Kremlin have found the Lithuanian people to be one of the hardest groups, if not the hardest, to bring under their domination.

I have been convinced that the people of Lithuania are determined above all things to resist the Communists who are ruling their country, and they are waiting for an opportunity to rise up and throw off the Communist yoke.

Mr. TALALAS. That is correct, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Madden was pursuing the subject of religion and the churches. Would it be your opinion that if any churches are left

open at all in not only Lithuania and other satellite countries, it is done only for propaganda purposes?

Mr. TALALAS. Only for propaganda purposes. There are only 2 or 3 churches open.

Mr. BUSBEY. Any further questions?

Mr. McTIGUE. I have no further questions.

Mr. BUSBEY. Thank you very much, Mr. Talalas.

Mr. TALALAS. Thank you very much.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Jonas Kalnenes is scheduled as the next witness, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. BUSBEY. I will ask the photographers to respect the wishes of the next witness and not to take any photographs, because the next witness will testify under a name other than his own. His right name is known to the committee, and the committee has taken the necessary steps to verify the authenticity of his testimony, his proper name, and his right to testify.

His reason for not using his correct name is obvious. It is to avoid retaliation against very close family connections who are still in Lithuania. He will, therefore, be permitted to testify under the name of John Kalnenas.

Will you stand and be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, so help you God?

Mr. KALNENAS. I do.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Counsel?

Mr. McTIGUE. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Witness, you are testifying here today before the committee under the name of John Kalnenas, is that correct? Are you a resident of Chicago at the present time?

TESTIMONY OF JOHN KALNENAS

Mr. KALNENAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. Are you employed in Chicago as a clerk in one of the stores here in Chicago?

Mr. KALNENAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you born in Lithuania?

Mr. KALNENAS. Yes; I was born in Lithuania.

Mr. McTIGUE. When?

Mr. KALNENAS. I was born May 28, 1905.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you educated in Lithuania?

Mr. KALNENAS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. How long did you live in Lithuania?

Mr. KALNENAS. I have left Lithuania in October 1944.

Mr. McTIGUE. So you were in Lithuania from the time you were born in 1905 until you left in 1944?

Mr. KALNENAS. Yes; all the time.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is it true that you graduated from one of the Lithuanian universities and received a degree in law?

Mr. KALNENAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you, at that time when you were attending the university, also take courses in penology?

Mr. KALNENAS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. You majored in prison administration?

Mr. KALNENAS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Upon your graduation, and after receiving your degree in penology, did there come a time when you were appointed as a warden at one of the largest jails in Lithuania?

Mr. KALNENAS. No. I started as a clerk. But later on I was made warden.

Mr. McTIGUE. When were you appointed at one of the largest prisons in Lithuania?

Mr. KALNENAS. 1936.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you, at the time the Communists took over Lithuania, a warden at one of the largest prisons?

Mr. KALNENAS. Yes, I was.

Mr. JANCUS. The witness would like to read a statement if he can. It is a very short statement.

He feels he has any questions which might be in the minds of the Committee answered here. If not, he will answer questions.

Mr. McTIGUE. What, Mr. Chairman, do you desire in that respect? The witness has just stated that he has a short statement here with reference to his experiences under the Communists and would prefer to read it.

Mr. BUSBY. Yes. That will be permitted.

Mr. McTIGUE. Are you going to read in English?

Mr. KALNENA (reading):

No. 1, when the Bolsheviks occupied Lithuania, first of all they took a good look into prisons. Their attention was aimed mainly at two purposes, (a) liberation of the imprisoned Communists who were at once appointed to various positions in high responsibilities—

Mr. McTIGUE. You mean that they were released by the Communists and then—appointed?

Mr. KALNENAS. Yes. Released from the prisons. In the first days of occupation this started in the capital, in Kaunas.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you were a warden and you actually saw this with your own eyes?

Mr. KALNENAS. Yes, sir; I saw. [Reading:]

(b) Establishing Soviet prison system in Lithuania.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Before he reads that, I think we should question the witness whether that is his own statement or not.

Mr. McTIGUE. Yes.

Mr. JANCUS. Is that your statement you are reading?

Mr. KALNENAS. Yes.

Mr. JANCUS. You made that statement yourself?

Mr. KALNENAS. Yes.

Mr. JANCUS. Are all the facts stated therein true to the best of your knowledge?

Mr. KALNENAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. JANCUS (reading):

(b) Establishing Soviet prison system in Lithuania: The prisons of Lithuania had in all respects differed from the usual systems of penal institutions in that they had been kept up according to the internationally adopted penal regulations.

(2) After a few weeks had passed, after the Red army entered Lithuania, the buildings of the prison were reconstructed. The underground cellars which were available were rebuilt into many small cells. Chapels were turned into warehouses. According to our old regulations, there had to be 16 cubic meters of

space for each prisoner, but the Bolsheviks did not pay any regard to this regulation.

They used to put several prisoners in each small cell, so that prisoners were able neither to lie down nor to move around inside the cell.

Workshops were also partitioned off into cells. This showed that the Communists found these workshops as unnecessary for keeping the prisoners busy or for their education.

All the privileges were canceled. Since the first days of the Bolshevik occupation of Lithuania, mass arrests were made. Although I was a prison warden, very often it was not clear to me just what were the reasons justifying the arrests and isolations.

When, upon visiting the cells, I asked the arrested men what they were accused of, in most cases they themselves could not give me any answer.

All interrogations were made at night, between the hours of 10 p. m. and 6 a. m. The prison atmosphere was extremely depressing. I am convinced that about 50 percent of the prisoners were affected mentally, because permanent nightly interrogations were ruining their nerves.

It was clear to me that such methods of interrogation were exercised by the Soviets on purpose, to break their prisoners, in order to get them to confess to the accusations of the NKVD.

About the deaths of prisoners, their relatives were never informed. Their bodies were buried in the night in the prison yard or in the forests near the city. When I suggested to the chief investigator that it would be quite humane to inform the relatives of the prisoners about their deaths and that this would raise the Bolshevik prestige, I was called a fool.

All the experienced employees were fired, and members of the Communist Party were appointed to their positions by order of the Communist security police.

A little later, a special political commissar was appointed for the prison. I was fired from my job on September 15, 1941.

In my position, Zogurski, a man sent from Russia, was appointed a new warden. He took over for me at 1 a. m.

Mr. McTIGUE. How long were you a warden or head of this prison under the Communists? How long a period?

Mr. KALNENAS. Since—only 2 months. They occupied Lithuania in June 15, and they fired me September 15.

Mr. McTIGUE. During that period, did they assign NKVD men and Communist agents to watch over your activities as warden?

Mr. KALNENAS. All the time. I had two men detailed on me.

Mr. McTIGUE. And those two men were at your side continually?

Mr. KALNENAS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. All you were doing as warden during that period was going through the motions? You were window dressing; is that correct?

Mr. KALNENAS. That is correct. Only display. I can do nothing.

Mr. JUNCUS. I wish to state that even when I visited with the prisoners, I took about six people with me so there would never be any chance of my being incriminated in any way by the Bolsheviks.

Mr. McTIGUE. You feel that the reason you were permitted to stay on as warden was because the Communists wanted to give the appearance that they were not making any radical changes in the prison system, as well as the economic system in Lithuanian life in general, that you were exhibit A in that respect, as far as the prison administration system is concerned?

Mr. KALNENAS. All prison officials were allowed to remain at their posts until after incorporation of Lithuania into the Soviet Union. This was done mainly for propaganda purposes.

After the illegal incorporation, Russian officials were appointed.

Mr. McTIGUE. Going back for a moment, Mr. Witness, you had from time to time, as an expert penologist, attended international conferences on penology; is that correct?

Mr. KALNENAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. Had the Russian or the Soviet been in attendance at any of these penology conferences, international penology conferences?

Mr. KALNENAS. Never.

Mr. McTIGUE. And there were certain rules and regulations with regard to administration of prisons and penitentiaries which were agreed upon between nations; is that correct?

Mr. KALNENAS. Yes. In 1934, at the conference of penologists in Berlin, international regulations were formulated and accepted.

Mr. McTIGUE. And can you say whether the Communists at any time observed these rules and regulations and agreements which were arrived at in Berlin during the time of your tenure?

Mr. KALNENAS. No, not in Lithuania. They canceled all our regulations.

Mr. McTIGUE. Canceled all of your regulations and rules which had been adopted as a constitution of the international conference; is that correct?

Mr. KALNENAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. I suppose, Mr. Witness, after—because of your prominence and after your release as warden of this prison, that you became rather a prominent name on the Communist list for immediate arrest; is that correct?

Mr. KALNENAS. Yes. I was living in hiding almost all the time that the Communists were there, after my release from prison, and I could do no work.

While I was still warden, they made me sign three statements that I would not tell of what I had seen in the prison.

Mr. McTIGUE. That was before your release was granted as warden?

Mr. KALNENAS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you know that the Communists were looking for you?

Mr. KALNENAS. No. I didn't know exactly.

Mr. McTIGUE. But you suspected because of your position that they would be?

Mr. KALNENAS. That they would be looking for me, but I never live in one place very long. I changed my place of residence frequently.

Mr. McTIGUE. How long were you in hiding in Lithuania following your release as warden of the prison?

Mr. KALNENAS. From September on.

Mr. McTIGUE. You testified that you were released in September 1941 as warden of the prison. Now, how long were you—

Mr. KALNENAS. 1940.

Mr. McTIGUE. 1940. How long were you in hiding before escaping from Communist-occupied Lithuania?

Mr. KALNENAS. Until the war began with Germany.

Mr. McTIGUE. So you were in hiding almost a year, and following the retreat of the Russians from Lithuania and the German advance into the Baltic countries, were you able at that time to finally escape from Lithuania?

Mr. KALNENAS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you emigrate to the United States?

Mr. KALNENAS. 1944, October. Oh, United States—you mean when I came over? It was in 1949, on July 9.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you emigrate to this country under the Displaced Persons Act?

Mr. KALNENAS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. I have no further questions.

Mr. FEIGHAN. You stated that when the Russian Communists came into Lithuania, they went to the prisons and investigated as to what prisoners were in there that were Communists, and you stated that they immediately released them and thereafter they placed them in positions in the rump Lithuanian Government; is that correct?

Mr. KALNENAS. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Now, those were criminal prisoners to which you refer?

Mr. KALNENAS. Some Communists were in jail for attempting to subvert the state. Some of the prisoners were just ordinary criminals, such as thieves. Some of the ordinary criminals were also Communists. The Russians released both types of criminals.

Mr. FEIGHAN. By whom were they prosecuted and placed in jail for being Communist criminals?

Mr. KALNENAS. By the Lithuanian Government.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Now, there were prisoners who were strictly criminal prisoners?

Mr. KALNENAS. Yes. There were only about 300 Communists in the prisoners throughout Lithuania.

Mr. FEIGHAN. How many were in the prison over which you had jurisdiction?

Mr. KALNENAS. Between 30 and 50.

Mr. FEIGHAN. And were each of them released at once?

Mr. KALNENAS. Yes, at once, within a few days after Russian occupation.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Now, did the Russians release the prisoners who were ordinary criminal prisoners?

Mr. KALNENAS. Yes, but only when he was a Communist.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Now, I want to know what disposal, if any, the Russian Communists made of the purely criminal prisoners.

Mr. KALNENAS. If there were any criminals who were Communists, unknown to our Government, who we had convicted only for ordinary criminal activities, they were also released.

Mr. FEIGHAN. They were also released?

Mr. KALNENAS. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Then the prison became pretty much empty in a hurry; did it not?

Mr. KALNENAS. In certain places it was empty.

By certain places, I mean that certain prisons were—other than the one I was in—were fairly well empty.

Mr. FEIGHAN. May I ask you this: When the criminal prisoners were released by the Russian Communists, were any of them, after their release, put in charge of the administration of the prisons in any capacity such as a guard or any other capacity?

Mr. KALNENAS. Yes, sir. I saw one on the street in a policeman's uniform. He was a criminal, but he was a Communist sympathizer, and he was made a policeman after his release from prison.

Mr. FEIGHAN. You weren't really in the prison long enough to get a full, overall, view of the operation of the prison after the Communist takeover, is that correct?

Mr. KALNENAS. Yes. I was not there long enough for that, but I understand that things were much worse later on in the prisons.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you. That is all.

Mr. BUSBEY. Any further questions?

Thank you very much, Mr. Kalnenas. Your testimony has been very valuable to the work of this committee.

Mr. McTIGUE. The next witness, Mr. Chairman, is Dr. Turula. Is he in the room?

Mr. BUSBEY. Dr. Turula, will you give the correct spelling of your name to the reporter?

Dr. TURULA. Paul T-u-r-u-l-a.

Mr. BUSBEY. Now, if you will be so kind as to give it to the reporter.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, so help you God?

TESTIMONY OF DR. PAUL TURULA

Dr. TURULA. I do.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Counsel?

Mr. McTIGUE. Where are you residing at the present time, Doctor, please?

Dr. TURULA. I am living in Elmwood Park, by Chicago.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is your address 7303 Fullerton Avenue, Chicago?

Dr. TURULA. That is right.

Mr. McTIGUE. And in what capacity are you presently employed?

Dr. TURULA. I am employed as a chemist by the Jello Corp. of Chicago, 400 West Ohio Street.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were born in 1909 in Ukraine; is that correct?

Dr. TURULA. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you were educated there, and you went to high school in Lvov; is that correct?

Dr. TURULA. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you also went to school in Munich, Germany in 1936?

Dr. TURULA. In 1937 I finished my studying in Germany, in Munich, as an engineer in chemistry, and in 1939 as doctor of chemical engineering.

Mr. McTIGUE. You received a doctor of chemical engineering in 1939 from the University of Munich?

Dr. TURULA. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And is it true that following your graduation from the University of Munich, and for the period 1939 to 1941, you remained in Munich as an assistant professor of chemistry at the university?

Dr. TURULA. That is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now, in 1941, after the German occupation of the Ukraine, did you return to Lvov?

Dr. TURULA. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Following your return at that time, what did you do, Doctor?

Dr. TURULA. At that time all of the vast Ukraine was occupied by the Germans. I took a position as teacher of technical courses, because the Germans didn't allow for the establishment of a college but they allowed so-called the practical courses for education of the people, of young people.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now, following the German retreat from the Ukraine and the occupation of the Ukraine by the Communists in 1944, did you join an underground movement?

Dr. TURULA. I was working with underground movement all the time from 1941 to 1944, during the time when I was in Ukraine.

Mr. McTIGUE. Was this underground movement directed against the Communists?

Dr. TURULA. It was an underground movement directed against both German and Communist occupation, because we had German occupation officially, but there were also Communist partisans roaming in Ukraine and the Ukrainian underground movement also was fighting them. We were also preparing for a return of Russian occupation—may I speak about that reason?

Mr. McTIGUE. Yes.

Dr. TURULA. Because in 1942 it was clear for us that the Germans were going to lose the war in East Europe, and that the Russian Communists would come back. So our fight against the German occupation was a defense of our homeland, and that helped us in preparing ourselves for the fight against the next occupation, which we expected to come sooner or later—from the Russian Communist Army.

Mr. McTIGUE. At that time, was there also in existence a Ukrainian insurgent army?

Dr. TURULA. Yes. Ukrainian insurgent army was organized about 1941. Its official name is UPA.

Mr. McTIGUE. So during this time there was an underground movement in the Ukraine, an insurgent army?

Dr. TURULA. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And that was a fighting military force; is that correct? It engaged in actual open combat with both the Germans and the Communists?

Dr. TURULA. Yes. In open fighting against both.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now, how long were you a part of the underground in the Ukraine?

Dr. TURULA. I officially worked as lecturer but at the same time worked for UPA.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where and how?

Dr. TURULA. My job was as a lecturer, but that was only a cover job. My main work was to prepare or to collect pharmaceuticals for the Ukrainian insurgent army, and some chemicals also. My part in the underground was of a technical nature.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were in charge of the department of the underground army for the procurement of pharmaceuticals needed in connection with the fighting of a war; is that correct?

Dr. TURULA. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you by one means or another secured these supplies for the insurgent army; is that correct?

Dr. TURULA. It was big organization. Some people, underground people, collected money and jewels for the fund for the Ukrainian underground, because there were possibilities to buy officially these medicaments or these pharmaceuticals and chemicals from Germans or other people.

This was very important because I remember that we collected some special injections to be used against typhus. Typhus was a big problem of the Ukrainian insurgent army at that time.

Mr. McTIGUE. Dr. Tarula, when this committee heard testimony in London, we had before us a young Polish witness by the name of Hanski. He was a young Polish teenager, as I recall it, and he was in Lvov at the time the Communists were driven out by the Germans.

He told of the mass murders of the people of Lvov by the Communists prior to the arrival of the Germans. Now, can you, from your experience, since you returned to Lvov and were probably there at the same time, give us any of your personal, eyewitness testimony along those lines?

Dr. TURULA. I will try, but it would be better if I had an interpreter.

The CHAIRMAN. Will the interpreter rise and raise his right hand. Do you solemnly swear that you will interpret from Ukrainian the testimony given here?

Mr. ALEX J. ZABROSKY. I do.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is it true, then, Doctor, that hundreds and thousands of people were arrested and massacred in the city of Lvov at the time it was under the Communist occupation?

Dr. TURULA. It is true. I lost many friends at that time. I knew them before I left Lvov, and after I returned there I did not find them. They were either massacred, killed, or banished to the east, to Siberia.

Mr. McTIGUE. How about your own family, Doctor; was any member of your immediate family arrested or imprisoned or executed?

Dr. TURULA. Yes. My brother was killed in Uman. That is a town close to the Dnieper River. The story was so: My brother was living as an engineer in a small town in west Ukraine and was arrested in June—about June 20, 1941.

He was put in the prison in Chortkiw. He was held in Chortkiw for about 2 weeks, and then with about 700 people—at least 700 people—they were forced to march about 300 miles through the country to Uman. When they arrived in Uman they were put in prison again, and never came out.

Mr. McTIGUE. You mean they were thrown into the prison when they finally arrived at Uman, and that was the last seen of them?

Dr. TURULA. Yes, when they arrived in Uman the people saw them going into the prison, but nobody ever saw them coming out.

Mr. McTIGUE. You never saw your brother again until you saw his body and identified it?

Dr. TURULA. Yes. I want to explain. Then, after a long search, we found in Uman, behind the prison was big hole for coal or wood for burning. We found that this was completely filled with bodies, which were covered by a special wood floor, and then it was camouflaged with scrap wood and lumber, and so on.

After the people took these bodies all out of the big hole, one after another, they took them to a cemetery. It was my duty to investigate, because I was from the territory where the people had come from. I was investigating crimes like this for the newspapers.

Then I established that all of the people were killed at a time in the night when a loud sound of motors could be heard by other inmates of the prison. Under the cover of the sounds of machinery or motors like a large truck many people were shot and murdered. About six persons were released from that prison—they stated that the people were sent into the country somewhere, because they heard only the sound of machines like big trucks. They didn't hear any shots.

Mr. McTIGUE. The survivors then said that the killings must have happened during the period when these whirring machines or motors were started, because the people who were released from the prison never heard any shots?

Dr. TURULA. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. All the survivors heard was the whirring of machines for some period of time and then silence. So the deduction that they made is that during that period these prisoners must have been shot by the Communists, is that correct?

Dr. TURULA. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now, among the victims, from what classes did they come? Were there old men, young men, women, children?

Dr. TURULA. They were from 14 to 60 years old. I found many small papers, written in the prison in Chortkiw, which identified some of the people, their birthdays, et cetera.

Then, I established that the youngest was about 14 years, born in 1926. The oldest, I don't know. But there were many very old men.

Mr. McTIGUE. So there were young and old men, women and children?

Dr. TURULA. Yes. I found one girl about 16 years old who had also beads on her right hand. It is significant that they were all killed by a small bullet from a hand weapon, from a revolver, a short revolver.

Mr. McTIGUE. By shooting where, in the back of the head?

Dr. TURULA. Yes, in the back of the head. My brother also had a big bump on the head. He was struck in the head by some blunt instrument. It looked like they killed and hit them at the same time, and the bodies then fell into the hole in the back of the prison.

Mr. McTIGUE. How many victims all told did you find in that place?

Dr. TURULA. I found altogether seven-hundred-odd bodies. My brother was among them.

Mr. McTIGUE. Your brother was one of the seven-hundred-odd victims who were identified, is that correct?

Dr. TURULA. Yes. You asked me about the classes.

There were farmers and workers. There were also intellectuals from the town, some professors, and so on, because they were clothed in dark clothes. My brother was in elegant dark clothes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Your brother was a university professor, was he not?

Dr. TURULA. My brother was an agronomist. That is a man who specialized in the study of agriculture—wood, especially.

Mr. McTIGUE. How long did you stay on in Lvov, Doctor, prior to your departure?

Dr. TURULA. I was there until 1944; I left Lvov again.

Mr. McTIGUE. At the time you left, you were a member of the underground?

Dr. TURULA. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. At the time you left was the underground still resisting actively?

Dr. TURULA. Yes, sir. At that time from the underground movement only a small number of people were allowed to come to the West. The rest of the underground movement remained in the country to fight Communist aggression and to fight against the Communist occupation of Ukraine.

It was the statement of Supreme Ukrainian Council of Liberation that all underground members have to remain and fight the Communist aggression, and only a few were allowed to come to the West.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you go to Germany after you left the Ukraine?

Dr. TURULA. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you emigrate to the United States?

Dr. TURULA. I came to the United States in June 1950.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you admitted under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948?

Dr. TURULA. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. If you don't want to answer this question, all right, but can you say now whether there is still organized resistance in the Ukraine to the Communists?

Dr. TURULA. Yes; I am sure about it. We have many statements not only from Ukraine papers—but I had read many statements from Soviet papers which admit clearly that an underground movement is still working. They always call for the fight against the Ukrainian bourgeois and Ukrainian nationalists, which is their terminology for underground and resistance movements.

Of course, the kind of fight they are able to put up now is quite a different one. It is stupid to fight in open against the Communists where there is no hope for an end of this fight. Therefore, the underground changed its tactic, and now they work more in the field of politics, more propaganda activity is now carried out in Ukraine against the Communists.

Mr. McTIGUE. But out of the mouths of the Communists, themselves, comes the admission that resistance in the Ukraine is still there and still effective, is that correct?

Dr. TURULA. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. I have no further questions.

Dr. TURULA. The Russians also last year admitted the execution in Kiev of Mr. Ocrjmowicz, who was a member of the underground. He had been in Germany, and 2 years ago he went back to Ukraine for some special reasons in connection with the underground movement, but he was caught and executed by the Russians last year.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Madden?

Mr. MADDEN. No questions.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Machrowicz?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. No questions.

Mr. McTIGUE. I have nothing further.

Mr. BUSBEY. Thank you very much, Doctor. I appreciate your testimony, and it has been very helpful to the committee.

The committee will stand recessed until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:25 p. m. the committee recessed, to reconvene at 2 p. m. the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. BUSBEY. The committee will come to order.

Our first witness this afternoon is Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, and Doctor, will you please be sworn and give your full name to the reporter?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you will give this afternoon will be the whole truth, so help you God?

TESTIMONY OF DR. LEV E. DOBRIANSKY

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. I do. Lev E. Dobriansky.

Mr. McTIGUE. And the first name is Lev?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where are you residing at the present time?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. In Alexandria, Va., sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you born and when?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. In New York City on November 9, 1918.

Mr. McTIGUE. You received your education here in the United States?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Entirely.

Mr. McTIGUE. You are president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, is that correct?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. That is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you are also a professor of political economy at Georgetown University in Washington, D. C., is that correct?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. That is correct, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. It is my understanding, Mr. Chairman, that Dr. Dobriansky has a statement which he is to present to the committee, and if there are no objections, may I suggest that Dr. Dobriansky be permitted to proceed with his statement?

Mr. BUSHEY. Yes. Without objection, that may be done.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. It is a veritable privilege and honor for me to appear before this singularly outstanding and unique committee of the United States House of Representatives which now is investigating Communist aggression against Ukraine and the other non-Russian nations held captive in the Soviet Union. The distinction of this opportunity to testify on this crucially important subject is sharpened by the fact that these hearings are being conducted here, in Chicago, a great midwestern metropolis which, significantly, is also a midway point for the widely distributed communities and branches with affiliations and membership in the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, of which I am the president.

As a thoroughly American organization, representing one and a half million citizens of Ukrainian ancestry, this national body has for over a decade dedicated itself to the prime tasks of informing the American public about Moscow-centered communism in practice, and of broadening its warm understanding concerning the vital and strategic importance of the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union to the fundamental interests and security of our nation.

In all sincerity, and solely with objective thought, we join with countless others, in this country and abroad, in complimenting this Select House Committee and its staff on its extraordinary endeavors and superlatively constructive work in factually unmasking the expansion of Red totalitarianism and its colonial empire and in establishing a solid and secure groundwork for sound foreign policy formulation.

It is a simple rule of balanced political behavior that before we can act with intelligent purpose and clear vision and courage, we must first come to know, understand, and judge the data and elements with which we are dealing.

The sterling contribution of your committee and its investigative work over the past year lies in the full maintenance and enforcement of this rule. It is doubly magnified by the fact that the revealing disclosures of your investigations of Communist aggressions in Eastern Europe, Central Asia, and elsewhere come at an anxious moment when an increasing number of people, sucked in by Moscow's new "peace offensive" under the tattered Soviet banner of "peaceful co-existence," are being lulled into a false sense of security and world peace.

The total significance and import of your monumental work will doubtlessly be felt with keener impression and appreciation once the constant, mortal threat of Communist aggression commences to assert itself again in bold, overt strokes of conquest and domination.

Every impartial observer and student of the activities of this committee agrees that its recent second interim report consists of one of the finest and most authoritative summaries of the nature and content of aggressive communism. It is based upon a wealth of concrete, empirical evidence obtained from the direct, horrible experiences of people representing all strata of the slave society and all nations reduced by force under the tyrannical yoke of Moscow. It reflects an investigative approach satisfying every critical test and criterion of comprehensive factfinding, and the salient facts and generalizations presented in this official document are worthy of careful study in all of our educational institutions.

The able and distinguished chairman of this committee, the Honorable Charles J. Kersten of Wisconsin, whose name is honored throughout the free world and consistently reviled in the Red empire, deserves every measure of commendation and praise for his untiring efforts in the cause of freedom; and the people of Milwaukee, whom he so brilliantly represents, have every right to take pride in his preeminent achievements and international reputation.

Contrary to popular impression, facts do not speak for themselves. For their meaning and true proportions they require intellectual insight and evaluation, the exercise of rational measurement, and a coherent arrangement in an intelligible pattern of thought.

This committee is, in its remarkable way, accumulating valuable information and documentary material relating to Communist aggression against the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union. Such data begin to assume meaningful significance for our knowledge and our political action in the field of foreign policy only when, according to their self-evident factual determination, they are rationally ordered in terms of the life process of a nation, in terms of its vicissitudes, indicated aspirations and goals of development.

Testimonies on national genocide, mass deportations, terrorism, manmade famines, religious persecution, thought control, underground resistance and general political tyranny refer not to isolated historical phenomena but broader political contexts of national struggle for self-preservation, freedom, self-government, and independence, the only contexts in which these basically related experiences can attain to intelligible meaning.

Being intimately familiar with a good deal of such data, it is my sole purpose here to present certain grounded perspectives with regard to Communist aggression against the non-Russian nations in the Soviet

Union, chiefly from the overall viewpoint of its crucial relationship to the national interests of our country.

These perspectives are amply supported by the types of evidence being furnished this committee, and represent generalized working conclusions of innumerable objective studies on the many non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union.

Indeed, the investigations of this committee into Communist aggression against these particular non-Russian nations cannot but reinforce these perspectives and thus constitute a salutary contribution to American public understanding of the nature and complex of the Soviet Union and also to our military and political capacity to capitalize on its patent vulnerabilities and weaknesses.

The first major perspective is that the Soviet Union is not Russia, but, in a real sense, an empire within an empire. It consists of Russia which, itself, is a federated republic made up of different peoples and known as the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (R. S. F. S. R.), and a large number of non-Russian nations which, in the forced context of this primary empire, have been established as individual republics.

According to current estimates, in addition to some 100 million Russians, there are about 115 million non-Russians, of which the Baltic nations, White Ruthenia, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Cossackia, and Turkestan roughly account for over 90 percent. Inhabiting in their individual countries the broad, strategic periphery of the Soviet Union, these non-Russian nationals not only compose in toto the majority of the total population of the U. S. S. R., but also make up overwhelming majorities in their respective native lands.

It is, therefore, a current fallacy, born either of habitual error or purposeful misinformation, to view these non-Russian nations as "national minorities." If Poland, for example, were nominally annexed to the Soviet Union, would it be logically sensible to regard this nation as another minority? Obviously not, when we are dealing with nations, peoples, conscious and rightfully proud of their national individualities.

The average American is familiar with the Baltic nations largely because they were fortunate to enjoy a longer period of national independence than these other non-Russian nations with whom, as yet, he is not so familiar. But, in fact, except for this relative release from foreign domination and annexation for scarcely 2 decades, the experiences of the Baltic nations have been, both prior to the collapse of the czarist Russian Empire and since 1940, substantially those of Ukraine, White Ruthenia, Georgia, and the other non-Russian nations.

All possess their individual national histories, distinctive cultures, separate languages, and an unbreakable bent toward national freedom and independence. Each has had glorious periods of such freedom and independence prior to its forcible absorption into the czarist Russian Empire. Each strives for it today in a wave of enlightened nationalism that is global in character and not restricted merely to Asia.

On the basis of the evidence provided this committee, it is utterly essential to understand that the year 1917 was the historical moment not only of the Russian revolution, but also of the non-Russian revolution that led to the creation of the free and independent national

republics of Ukraine, Lithuania, White Ruthenia, Georgia, Armenia, and others.

The collapse of the Russian Empire was crystallized by this sweeping non-Russian revolution, and it seemed on the basis of typical Communist avowals and pacts, that this dark empire was at last finished.

For instance, never tiring in his early advocacy of the principle of national self-determination, Lenin wrote:

* * * that Russian Socialists who fail to demand freedom of secession for Finland, Poland, the Ukraine, etc., are behaving like chauvinists, like lackeys of the blood- and mud-stained imperialist monarchies and the imperialist bourgeoisie.

As a further example, concerning Ukraine, both Lenin and Trotsky addressed themselves through the Council of Commissars of the Russian people, on December 4, 1917, as follows:

So far as the international rights and the national independence of the Ukrainian people are concerned, we, the Council of People's Commissars, recognize them without reservations and unconditionally.

It was not long after that Trotsky's Red army invaded Ukraine and the other non-Russian republics to commit the first act of Russian Communist aggression against foreign states and nations. Long before the West learned to distrust Communist words and contracts, Ukraine, Georgia, and others painfully experienced the infamy of Moscow's chicanery.

In historical perspective, then, which is as essential and determining to nations as trained backgrounds are to the understanding of persons, except for the more fortunate Baltic States, the non-Russian nations now in the Soviet Union were the first true victims of imperialist Communist aggression staged in the period 1919-22.

The onslaught upon the Baltic States 20 years hence and, soon thereafter, the aggressions against Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, and others, in what we unrealistically call the satellite area, represented additional links in the extended imperialist chain of Muscovite expansionism.

The pattern of Russian Communist aggression did not originate, as many erroneously believe, at the start of World War II, but actually soon after the close of World War I. The Red empire was not founded with the forcible annexation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, but actually established its foundations with the conquest and involuntary incorporation of Ukraine, Georgia, White Ruthenia, and others in the Soviet Union in 1922-23.

It should also be observed that Russian Communist involvement in the wars of independence with Ukraine and the other independent non-Russian republics indirectly contributed heavily to the formation and maintenance of the independent Baltic States and Poland after World War I. Trotsky's Red armies advanced sufficiently to knock at the gates of Warsaw, only to be repulsed by combined Ukrainian and Polish forces.

We need only contemplate what the course and alternative conditions of history would have been since 1918, had the West supported these new, democratic non-Russian republics; had it understood that

this is in reality a century of the demise of empires, as the forces of freedom surge forth among all nations.

Indeed, much human life, tragedy, treasure, and blood would surely have been spared as communism would have been forced to face the prospect of asphyxiation in the realm of its origin and genesis, only had we the knowledge, vision, and courage which even today we in great degree need.

Without these guiding perspectives, the tragedies, genocide, national purges, manmade famine, underground resistance, deportations, etc., that have occurred in the non-Russian areas of the Soviet Union since the twenties, have in the largest measure no meaning. They are not, as simple and misformed conceptions would have them, mere "internal problems" of a state. For within the framework of an empire, where as in the dark past nations are uneasily bound together by force, coercion and terror, such problems and evidences are always of an international character. On all counts, for anyone who carefully reviews that evidence brought before this committee, Moscow-centered communism is in essence a destroyer of nations, including the potentialities for democratic existence and growth of the Russian nation itself.

Viewing the overwhelming evidence presented on Ukraine alone, one cannot be constantly impressed by these ruling perspectives. After displaying with courageous strength and passion its undying aspirations for national freedom and independence, Ukraine was given nominal significance as a republic in the Soviet Union, and in the period of the 1920's numerous concessions were made, contributing to a freer cultural activity than ever existed before in the Russian Empire.

For example, the rewriting and official censoring of Ukrainian history, which was an old institution of the Tsarist Russian Empire, lapsed as the leading Communist historical school under the famous Russian historian, Mikhaylo Pokrovsky, acknowledged the true facts of the history of Ukraine since the ninth century. By 1930, this institution was in full swing again as Pokrovsky was sharply censured, his works abolished, and old-styled Russification was renewed by the Communists. The phase of the thirties, highlighted by the famous Kharkiv trials, the manmade famine of 1932-33, the purges of 1937 and the Vinnitsa massacres, was, by contrast, one of terror and oppression.

It is no wonder that a full, national reaction to these inflicted experiences burst out upon the German invasion of Ukraine and the Caucasus in the early forties. The invasion was largely into these areas rather than Russia itself, and the story is nowhere better summarized than in the work of the German correspondent who witnessed it all.

The steady flow of Ukrainian volunteer's for the German forces we ignored. * * * The millions of Ukrainians who, by themselves, could have turned the scales in the East, were not only being left unused, but were actually being repulsed and disillusioned. * * * Police methods were replacing the great and splendid idea of the liberation of the East. In place of national independence and freedom, the bit was being drawn tighter.

The consequences of this colossal German blunder were many, not the least of which was the price paid by countless Ukrainians for their devotion to country and freedom.

There are many Ukrainians in the Uzbek desert towns—

writes a New York Times correspondent from a recent visit there—some of them settled forcibly there as far back as the time of the collectivization program nearly 25 years ago. Others were sent east on charges of failure to resist the Germans or Rumanians when their lands were occupied. As in the case of the Caucasian Mountaineers, many of the Ukrainians must have had little or no enthusiasm for what they regarded as primarily a Russian cause.

The formation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in 1942, and its heroic exploits to the present day, are unparalleled in Eastern Europe. Its fight was against both Nazi Germany and Russian Communist totalitarianism, and by 1945, Moscow concessions were in order again, paramount among which was Stalin's support of the admission of Ukraine and Byelorussia into the United Nations.

As Stalin revealed to Stettinius and others, it was done to appease the intense nationalism raging in these areas; and when some, as Senator Wiley last month, seek to reduce the votes of the U. S. S. R. on the spurious notion that these two countries are like the States of Texas and Arizona, they simply do not know what they are talking about and, worse still, are playing into the present hands of Moscow.

For, after another phase of purges on the score of "bourgeois nationalism" and the non-Russian significance of the Beria case, Moscow launched at the beginning of this year upon a 6-month celebration of the Pereyaslav Treaty in 1654; significantly, rewriting the history of the relations between Ukraine and Russia these past 300 years in terms of the former's historic struggle for national freedom and independence.

The story depicted above is in substance the story of Georgia, Armenia, Turkestan, Lithuania, and others. It is the brutal story of Communist aggression against nations, the stark details of which form the massive evidence of this committee. "We have the story, what now?" is the proper and appropriate question that every thinking American should raise.

The assembled evidence is surely not for academic purposes alone, but rather, it should serve as a working basis for intelligent political action, for a sound foundation of policy. With this picture of successive and planned Communist aggression in mind, any thinking person could begin to comprehend the explosive centrifuge that exists in the Russian Communist Empire. It provides weapons of political warfare and psychological success that lay at our disposal while we still have time to exploit them.

One would think that at this stage of the cold war, our Government has formulated and carefully worked out a policy toward the Soviet Union and the many nations imprisoned there. Except for our tenuous position concerning the Baltic States, there is no evidence of any such policy, no guide of action to strike at the empire within an empire.

The tremendous evidence assembled by this committee stands to provide us with a policy that, as always, must be in accord with the moral and political principles of our Nation, as best expressed in our Declaration of Independence and Constitution. It stands to serve as

sively adapting ourselves to changed circumstances contrived by menace that is admittedly planning our destruction.

Second, this amassed evidence serves as a bulwark of knowledge thwarting the desperate attempts of Moscow and even some professed anti-Communists with undemocratic totalitarian preconceptions to becloud, tarnish, and mutilate this true picture to the detriment of our national interests. Some intellectuals, like Corliss Lamont and Owen Lattimore, have presented the Moscow line on the non-Russian nations in the U. S. S. R. in its false entirety. To quote from one of Lattimore's works:

The success of the Russian policy toward minority peoples had made the Soviet Union as a whole not only a standard, but the standard of progress from the Ural and Amur Rivers to the Pamirs.

Other disinformers, even anti-Communists and usually of Russian origin, make a practice of hoodwinking officials unacquainted with the facts through deceptive semantics on the "peoples of Russia," "dismemberment of 'country'"—meaning, with false intent, U. S. S. R. Russia and all therein are Russians—and other terminological twists that also appear in the Moscow line.

Another occupies an important post in the Voice of America, testifying regularly in this disinforming vein and has painted the German episode in Ukraine with this semantic distortion. Some prepare official documents with similar misleading semantics as "national minorities," etc. Still others in this country, writers, advertised as "experts on Russia and communism" contribute disinformingly to a distorted picture of the known story; one even unreservedly accepting and employing the official Communist concept of "Home Sovieticus."

These examples of methodical disinformation, which the direct, experiential evidence gathered by your committee counters, may be easily defended, and if one were to survey at length the futile activities of the American Committee for Liberation From Bolshevism—ostensibly a private organization on which, significantly, two of the quoted excerpts serve—the American public would be amazed to know what is going on.

There is good reason to believe that these activities fall in part within the jurisdiction of the assignment given Gen. Mark Clark. Moreover, if one were to inquire into the real, ultimate sources—the why—of these disinforming tactics, it would necessarily involve one in a study of institutional pathology which, fortunately, is being undertaken by students in many quarters in this country.

However, to gather an essential idea of it more vividly and cogently, the major source of this detrimental phenomenon, no one portrays it more vividly and cogently than Alexander, Grand Duke of Russia:

* * It was clear to me then, in the eventful summer of 1920, as it is now in the quieter days of 1933, that in scoring a decisive victory over the Poles, the Soviet Government had done what any truly national government would have been obliged to do. However ironical it might appear that the unity of the Russian State had to be defended by the members of the Third Internationale, the fact remains that from that day on the Soviets were forced to pursue a purely national policy which happens to be the age-old policy introduced by Ivan the Terrible, crystallized by Peter the Great, and brought to a climax by Nicholas I:

This totalitarian empire complex that has wrought so much harm and misery not only upon the conquered non-Russian peoples but also the long enslaved masses of the Russian nation, that functions as a common denominator in the political behavior of both the Russian Communists and some anti-Communists, is, on evidence, not the sole property of a monarchist like Alexander.

For example, identifying Russia and the U. S. S. R., and perhaps more, Mr. Kerensky writes:

Russia, a geographical backbone of history, should exist in all her strength and power no matter who or how he is ruling her. From this comes his—Miliukov's—testimony for us: "to be on watchful guard of Russia—no matter what her name is—absolutely, unconditionally and to the last breath."

Another, in much of the evidence that can be cited, writes:

They—the Bolsheviks—are despots and tyrants, they are dictators and fire-spreaders; they are guilty of many crimes against the people save one: they did not dismember Russia—

which, in the imperialist Russian jargon, means empire.

The practical importance of this assembled evidence and its effective use becomes even more clear when we think in terms of necessary political warfare and psychological advantage. Its significance is summed up in the conclusion of one of our leading political analysts who took pains to familiarize himself with much of this evidence:

Our proposal must be for the freedom of all the nations; a Ukrainian has the same right to freedom as a Pole or a Russian. Only this universal interpretation, which is recommended alike by expedience and justice, will release the centrifugal energy of all the peoples of the Soviet Empire, a power which, if given a chance to express itself, can shatter the imperial structure. It would be ludicrous to interpret the struggle against communism as a fight to preserve the Russian Empire. If Russians who claim to be anti-Communists refuse to extend the goal of freedom to non-Russians, then we must wonder whose side such Russians will be on when the showdown comes.

With this conclusion no American can disagree and with this conclusion the full significance of the assembled evidence comes into bloom.

Finally, this assembled evidence is the factual groundwork for a sane and sound American policy of liberation toward all nations, including the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union. Anyone scanning this evidence cannot but leave with the disturbing thought that behind their neatly staged facade of "peaceful coexistence" a colossal bluff now being perpetrated upon the free world, the Communists are busily engaged consolidating their empire, chiefly through the medium of systematic national genocide.

In their calculus of world conquest, this genocidal consolidation is primary and basic. With millions of human robots at its disposal, Moscow will have achieved its psychological basis of a reasonable expectation of success in this calculus. Given the initial advantage of attack, it does not even have to regard the second essential variable in the calculus, namely, quantitative superiority in arms, as an indispensable requisite for such expectation; although, with concentrated specialization, it may easily obtain it, both absolutely and relatively, as we are forced to dissipate our resources in sideshows.

The third basic variable, its fear of retaliation, will then be inversely related to its estimated ability to create regionalized Pearl Harbors. By allowing the first and dangerously gambling through unprincipled containment on the second variable, we are contributing

heavily to their lessened fear of the third variable and to the prospect of a third world war.

Time, to achieve this consolidation, favors Moscow, not the free world. In 1952 both political parties in this country repudiated and disclaimed the policy of containment. Yet this policy is in effect today, allowing the time for Moscow to consolidate and form its springboard for world conquest. Only through a policy of liberation—the real and practical alternative to preventive war, the Soviet-inspired myth of peaceful coexistence and myopic containment—can we obstruct this consolidation for war, sustain the sources of enlightened nationalism and patriotic resistance throughout the Soviet Empire, enhance the insecurity of Moscow within its own imperial realm, and thereby maximize the chance against a global conflict.

Once the ultimate Communist calculus of world conquest is understood, little comfort can be taken in the knowledge that we are equipped to retaliate with material power. Moscow possesses much power, too, and may substantially reduce our sources of retaliation. To follow the present policy means to lose the strength and power of our natural allies behind the Iron Curtain and to dangerously expose ourselves to the prospect of defeat in the event of a showdown, no matter how closely bound we may be to our allies in the free world.

The American public has every right to know why, in view of the stand taken in 1952, our Government still pursues the self-defeating policy of containment. It should be given every opportunity to read and study the evidence accumulated by this committee. It should also have the opportunity to ponder and act upon the preliminary recommendations of the committee.

Although there is a tactical question concerning its recommendation on the withdrawal of American diplomatic representatives from behind the Iron Curtain, these proposals are girded to fact and evidence as concerns communism in practice rather than hollow theory, and are thoroughly in the tradition of our moral and political principles.

The basic question is: "Are we as a nation prepared to trade for a few illusory moments of 'peace' under the bluff of peaceful coexistence at the long-range risk of grave disadvantage of possible war, even at the risk of our defeat as a nation?" This investigating committee, on the basis of its accumulated evidence can render only one rationally possible verdict.

Mr. McTIGUE. Dr. Dobriansky, I take it then from your statement that you regard the U. S. S. R. as a colonial empire; is that correct?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. That is correct, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. Do you consider that Estonia and Latvia and Lithuania, as well as Poland and Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria, are part of the colonial empire, at this time?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Definitely; very much so.

Mr. McTIGUE. Do you look upon all of these non-Russian nations as being under the control of Moscow and as a part of the Red colonial empire?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Absolutely, sir. In every conceivable sense, despite the fact that there is a nominal distinction, in the sense that Poland, Hungary, and the other countries that we regard as part of the satellite area are not nominally within the Soviet Union, yet functionally, operationally, economically, and politically they fall under the sway of Moscow's dictates and dictations.

Mr. McTIGUE. Do you hold that the Russian Communist aggression which had its origin in Ukraine and in the other non-Russian nations of the U. S. S. R. paved the way for the aggression in the Baltic States and in the now captive nations held by the Communists?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Definitely, sir. In fact, I would say that many of the concepts of so-called internal revolution, national revolution, in favor of communism, have been fashioned within this early pattern and has been reused substantially in many of the countries in Central Europe.

Mr. McTIGUE. I think, Doctor, that the testimony that the committee has taken to date on Ukraine and the other non-Russian nations substantiates what you have just said with reference to the pattern of Communist aggression which was established in Ukraine and the other non-Russian nations of the U. S. S. R.

Doctor, I was interested in that part of your statement in which you stated that the steady flow of Ukrainian volunteers to the German forces was ignored, and millions of Ukrainians who, by themselves, could have turned the scales in the East, were not only being left unused, but were actually being repulsed and disillusioned.

I recall that Congressman Dodd of Connecticut, who, as you know, is a member of this committee, and who was one of the chief war crime trials prosecutors at Nuremberg, has said on various occasions that in his interview with Goering—particularly Goering, but also with other high-ranking Nazis, who were tried at Nuremberg—he stated that Goering and others had made the statement that had the Germans tried to win over the Ukrainians and others, that the story of the war between Russia and Germany might have been different.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Yes, indeed.

Mr. McTIGUE. That in the final analysis, one of the main causes of the German defeat was the fact that instead of trying to gain these friendships and stimulate a spirit of independence, they applied police-state measures which were almost as bad as that of the Communists.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Well, Mr. McTigue, of course within the scope of a presentation of this sort, I could hardly footnote everything, for fear that I would have a presentation 90 percent footnote and only 10 percent body; but that is perfectly correct, what you say.

However, I would like to say this: There was absolutely no need for the Germans to make any attempt—or as you put it—to try to win the friendship of these peoples. Now, naturally, they didn't turn to the Germans in any sense of being dedicated to nazism and for all that nazism stood. They simply looked upon it as an opportunity to express their own suppressed desires for national independence and the like.

The Germans had them, and, as this statement indicates, repulsed them, just as you say.

Mr. McTIGUE. The Germans failed to recognize the aspirations of the non-Russian nations for national independence; is that correct?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Yes; that was their biggest mistake. Also, the evidential material that has been assembled by our own military intelligence units, that can authoritatively be looked into at the Pentagon and elsewhere—much of it classified, and some of an unclassified status—all of it represents bulk support of this particular historical event.

Mr. McTIGUE. I was very much interested in your statement in this respect because I have heard Congressman Dodd make the same kind of statement on the basis of his interviews with Goering and others at Nuremberg.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Well, Congressman Kersten likewise has been adequately informed on this historical period by some who have had the opportunity to scan the evidence that has been accumulated on this point.

Mr. McTIGUE. Yes, I am sure he has.

I have no further questions at the moment, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Machrowicz?

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I would like to compliment Dr. Dobriansky on a very fine statement. Thank you so much.

I may have one or two questions about details, but they don't fortunately, have any material bearing upon the conclusions to which I subscribe completely.

I have one or two questions I would like to present. You refer to this peaceful coexistence as a colossal bluff now being perpetrated upon the free world.

That, to me, creates the possibility of interpretation that peaceful coexistence is a new—is something new that had not been in existence before. I hope you didn't mean to infer that, do you?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Not at all. If you will recall, at the beginning of the statement, on page 2, I do mention "under the tattered Soviet banner of peaceful coexistence." Naturally, the implication there is that it has been used quite often in the past.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. The point I would like to bring out is this: That although that phrase is new to most Americans, actually so-called peaceful coexistence is one of the strongest weapons the Soviets used in conquering almost every one of the nations which it has conquered.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Precisely. You are so correct, sir.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. They have always started by a phase which was peaceful coexistence and ended in complete control over the nation.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. That is correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And as a matter of fact, peaceful coexistence is the weapon which is now being used by Soviet Russia in Asia and wherever it can—even in South America and Africa.

So that it is not really anything new, but it is just a part of the Soviet pattern.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. I completely agree with you. If I may make a statement concerning it, all of these events that we read about in the papers, such as American students, usually students who are editors of university publications, being invited to Moscow, taken on tours; members of the British Parliament; the track meets; the preparation for the Olympic games; the staged ballets, Soviet ballets, throughout Western Europe, are interrelated, calculated examples.

Now you are getting, of course, a good deal of literature written by Varga and numerous others, who are playing on this Communist theme of peaceful coexistence; and, it all fits within that general pattern that you speak of.

Consequently, it can be looked upon, and indeed is, as a colossal bluff that so many Americans, unfortunately, are falling for.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I hope you will also agree with me that the fact that this theory of peaceful coexistence is now being used extensively in the United States is a very dangerous sign, as that is the first step toward conquest.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. That is right, sir. There are many signs of psychological preparation for it.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I note that you do not believe that this Government at the present time is following the policy of liberation.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Definitely not. Far from it.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You know, however, that our top officials from time to time are continuing the claim that this Government—at least the present administration—is following a policy of liberation.

Have you seen any evidence of its actual intent to follow such a policy?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. None whatsoever, sir. I can say that: That 2 years ago, personally, without necessarily mentioning the committee that I was with, I played a role in the unfolding of this whole policy of liberation, at least with respect to a good deal of the evidence and also some of the recommendations.

Now, we have talked a great deal about liberation. We still continue to talk about it; perhaps not as much now as we had a year or two ago, but there is not one single, solid, concrete evidence to show that we have adopted a policy of liberation.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. As a matter of fact, in the President's first state of the Union address to Congress, he did propound a policy of liberation, a very powerful policy of liberation which, unfortunately, didn't last more than 4 weeks.

Upon Mr. Dulles' return from London—Mr. Dulles happened to be in London at the time the President made his very profound statement to Congress—upon Dulles' return to the United States, that policy changed to one of containment.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. That is correct, sir, and I would like to say this, too: That during the campaign of 1952, some of the arguments raised against the policy of liberation were totally invalid arguments. One of the most primary or foremost arguments is, if you will recall, that such a policy would lead to premature uprisings, and, of course, the classic example used was that of the Polish underground and Warsaw.

Now, such arguments only tended to confuse the situation, and those who advocated or propounded the policy of liberation, I think, in all honesty, themselves were not fully aware of what a policy of liberation is, and consequently, they exposed themselves to the argument of the opponents—and there were many in this country—that a policy of liberation is a war-like policy. Mr. Kennan and others have referred to it—indeed, I believe Mr. Stevenson the other day in California did—as a warlike policy; and Mr. Stevenson used the term "liberation" in connection with his statements concerning Secretary of State Dulles and others.

Now, actually, one could go point by point to show the many invalidities of the arguments that had been given at that time against a policy of liberation. To my mind, a policy of liberation is really the alternative to preventive war, and also to the present policy of what I call containment by verbal threat.

I had occasion this past summer, before military government groups out at Fort Meade, to treat this entire matter rather extensively and

intensively; and I was really amazed to see the misconceptions that some of our people do have with respect to the policy of liberation, not understanding it as really a political offensive, a political warfare on the terrain of the enemy.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Feighan?

Mr. FEIGHAN. Dr. Dobriansky, would you say, then, that ruthless and unwarranted aggression has always been the outstanding characteristic of Russian communism since it got its foothold in Moscow?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Yes; it has been in the sense of the subordination and domination of other states and peoples and nations.

However, as I indicate here on page 7, there were a few years during the twenties in the non-Russian republics—and one has to admit it—where there was a movement for cultural freedom. But after those few years, beginning in 1928, brutal Russification set in, and it was still within the context of the old empire.

So I would say with regard to your question, Congressman, that certainly aggression was the impressive mark of Russian communism at its very inception. However, there are periods of ostensible concessions which invariably are followed by periods of magnified oppression.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Dr. Dobriansky, if we do—first let me ask you this: What, in your opinion, can we as a nation do to encourage the people of the enslaved nations of the Red-Russian colonial empire that they are not condemned forever to a life of slavery?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Well, a general answer to that question would be the adoption of a forthright policy of liberation and a full implementation of such a policy.

Now, certainly it involves, as Secretary of State Dulles so often, himself, has stated, an explicit moral commitment on the part of our Nation toward all the nations and peoples enslaved within the Russian Communist empire.

Secondly, I would say this: That the proposals and recommendations made by this committee on the matter of building up national military units and the numerous other projects should be enacted. I have no doubt that we would be able to sustain the patriotic cells and the underground groups that still powerfully exist within the captive nations from the Danube to the Pacific.

Consequently, we would enhance and magnify the insecurity of Moscow. I think by doing that, we would be able to produce the greatest, most formidable deterrent against a third world war.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Now, if we do encourage the enslaved people within the Red colonial empire to resist their masters and to hope for ultimate liberation, do we not then increase the possibility of a shooting war?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. No, sir. I don't see that we increase that possibility at all. In fact, we enhance or minimize the chance against a shooting war. Certainly the enemy which feels highly insecure within his own realm is not going to think in terms of further aggression and world conquest, and, needless to say, we have a most fertile field here, not restricted solely to central Europe, but embracing Eastern Europe and Asia—central Asia and far eastern Asia.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Well, Dr. Dobriansky, then you believe in keeping the enemy so busy at home that he won't be able to bother anybody else?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Precisely, and not only that development arises. Many people say, then, what next? I have often had that question posed to me. But the point is this: That history is not a finalistic development in the sense that you know precisely what the end will be. By developing and encouraging these peoples, we then would be able to broaden the range of possibilities for many things to occur within this entire empire.

It may feed upon itself, create a momentum, build up a cacophony of unrest, dissension and so on, and infiltration within the ranks of the Red army and within the MVD and MGB and numerous other agencies.

These constitute the range of possibilities. We have no such range of possibilities if we simply sit, as I indicated here, and drift along, take uneasy comfort in that we have nuclear weapons, and have built up a material power.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. There was just one question that I had. There was a question raised as to what we could do to build up the hopes of the people behind the Iron Curtain.

I don't know whether you know it, Dr. Dobriansky, that in July of this year I introduced a resolution in the House which called for a declaration by Congress that one of the goals of our foreign policy shall be the liberation of the countries behind the Iron Curtain.

What do you think would be the effect of such a resolution if it were adopted?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. It would be electrifying, and I might indicate, Congressman, without creating any embarrassing circumstance here, that I did write you a letter supporting that resolution in toto.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Of course, you know why the resolution was not finally adopted?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Yes, I do, sir.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Doctor, do you feel that the drive for national independence is strong today in the non-Russian nations in the U. S. S. R.?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Definitely so, and it has always been. We haven't recognized it by and large in our institutions, and even in many areas of government. We have taken note, if you please, of the spark of nationalism in southeast Asia, and yet we have failed to recognize that that has been a force at work, and when the opportunity presents itself, it will burst into full bloom, in both Eastern Europe and central Asia.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Doctor, is the Kremlin required today to recognize this drive and to make accommodations for it?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Definitely so.

Mr. FEIGHAN. What are some of the evidences of this?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. In contrast to our position where, on the basis of the real and true principles that we have enshrined in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, we are supposed to serve as the leader in the matter of developing this patriotism, this enlightened nationalism among the peoples and nations throughout the world, the Soviet Union, Moscow, in particular effect, has seized upon this force, this natural force, of nationalism.

Beyond its borders, it exploits it fully; naturally, as always, to its own good. We observe this in southeast Asia; you see it throughout the Middle East. It never misses an opportunity in seizing and capitalizing upon nationalism.

It isn't exploiting the communism of Communist theory—Marxism. Instead, it is supporting the nationalistic drives of these different peoples within different empires. Within its own empire, it likewise exploits the nationalistic urge, and the best illustration that comes to my mind here is, of course, the Pereyaslav celebration at the beginning of this year. The first 6 months of this year, in fact, were devoted to it.

After all, let us consider what Moscow has done in this respect. It spent a great deal of resources, a great deal of effort. The theses that were distributed were not distributed solely within the Soviet Union, within Ukraine or Georgia or Armenia. They were distributed to Poland and numerous other areas throughout the entire empire, and in reading carefully, as I have, the 30-some odd pages of these theses, what is the particular theme that Moscow exploits? Namely, the historic drive on the part of the submerged Ukrainian nation for national independence, and it plays up its nationalism, and then, of course, we find, after a good deal of dialectics, the ludicrous conclusion that it was Moscow, the Russian complex, that after 300 years, or close to 300 years, made possible the crystallization and fruition of a natural independent Ukrainian structure.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Doctor, I notice in this morning's Chicago American, on page 2 of today's issue, October 18, that Igor Gouzenko, the former Russian code clerk in the Russian Embassy in Canada, who exposed the spy ring there and here in the United States, says that—

It is inevitable that the Kremlin will attack the United States when they are sure we cannot annihilate them in return.

Now, do you think that Russia will start a sneak attack on the United States?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Well, let me put it this way: Of course, I cannot look into the future, nor can any person. But I say that if we view the conditions which are evolving at this moment—and I think that is the crucial importance of all of the evidence accumulated by this committee, the evidence demonstrates a diabolical process of genocidal consolidation going on behind the present facade of coexistence.

Now, once they are able to consolidate within their empire and feel totally sure that the next step can be taken without any breakup within the empire, be it Ukraine, Poland or elsewhere, then they would certainly have the conditions for what I call the first and perhaps decisive shot.

They will have the advantage of the first shot which can lead to regional Pearl Harbors, and also the advantage of their conspiratorial network which you know engulfs every nation within the free world, including ours.

I might say this, however, Congressman: I have heard it said—although I have never met the gentleman—but that Igor Gouzenko might very well be of Ukrainian origin.

Mr. FEIGHAN. I think he is rendering a very valuable service in alerting the free world.

Mr. DOBRIANSKY. There is no doubt about that, sir.

Mr. BUSBEY. Dr. Dobriansky, in behalf of the committee, I sincerely thank you for the testimony you have given us this afternoon. I have no hesitancy in stating that I think it is some of the finest testimony the committee has received. It shows not only to the committee but to the entire world that you have a very comprehensive understanding

and knowledge of the entire situation and the enemy we are facing.

Being a member of the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives, I probably am more conscious than are some members in the House of the fact that in numerous instances we are asked to appropriate money to stop and contain communism. I wonder if you agree with the statement that I have made publicly many, many times to the effect that, after spending in excess of \$130 billion of the taxpayers' money since 1940 in the four corners of the earth, we have neither stopped nor contained communism?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. I agree with that wholly, sir.

Mr. BUSBEY. Well, if that be a fact—and I think it is an undeniable fact—I believe you will agree with me that we should stop doing what we have been doing over the years and are still doing, and that we should take an entire new look at this whole problem and start on an entirely different and new policy from that we have been following in the past.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Absolutely, sir. And weren't we promised that 2 years ago?

Mr. BUSBEY. I must admit we were, or I believe we were.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. I readily admit it, sir. I was with the Republican National Committee at that time.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Confession is good for the soul.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. It is good for America too.

Mr. BUSBEY. I think my position on these matters is pretty well known, not only locally but in far-distant corners of the United States on these matters.

But I am not like some people, or like the little boy playing baseball who, when told he cannot pitch, says "I am going to take my ball and go home."

I am not like some of my comrades in the American Legion who, when they find that the American Legion at its national convention has passed a resolution that does not agree with their thinking, tear up their card and say "I am not going to belong to that organization."

I may say that the American Legion has passed many resolutions with which I do not agree. The Republican Party, my own party, has policies with which I do not agree. But I am not leaving the American Legion and I am not leaving the Republican Party. I am staying in and fighting for those principles and ideals which I think are right. And I will keep on fighting on this matter of foreign policy as long as God gives me breath.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. That is right and proper, sir.

If I may interject here: you may rest assured that you will have many supporting you in this fight.

Mr. BUSBEY. Thank you, sir.

You made reference in your testimony, Doctor, to the second interim report of the Committee on Communist Aggression, which sometimes is referred to as the Kersten committee, because Mr. Kersten of Wisconsin is the chairman of the full committee.

I naturally assume that you have read not only the report very carefully but also our recommendations on page 25.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Definitely, sir, all of them.

Mr. BUSBEY. I wish to state for the record that these recommendations were unanimously adopted by the 5 Republicans and the 4 Democrats constituting this committee.

I was particularly happy to have the committee adopt sections (b) and (d) of what might be called article I of the recommendations.

Section (b) reads as follows:

To seek agreement whereby the free non-Communist nations acting in concert will withdraw diplomatic recognition from all Moscow-controlled Communist governments.

Section (d) reads as follows:

To develop a program for the rapid and complete termination of all commercial treaties and trade with Communist governments and the initiation of a program of trade among all non-Communist nations which will strengthen the security of the free world.

Do you agree with those two recommendations, Doctor?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Sir, the first recommendation, I do agree with.

But there is the qualification of time, the time element, in this sense, if I may elaborate on it for a moment:

As you are probably aware, in the House there is a resolution, a concurrent resolution, referred to as House Concurrent Resolution 58, sponsored by Congressman Smith of Wisconsin. That resolution calls for an American diplomatic representation in Ukraine and in Byelorussia on the basis of their legal presence in the United Nations.

My organization has been in support of that resolution. But this is not an inflexible position, and really accommodates this considered possibility. All the resolution attempts to do is to have our State Department adopt a consistent course of action.

In other words, we are seeking consistency on the part of the State Department. If you have American ambassadors in Warsaw, in Prague, in Moscow, and elsewhere, why not have them also in two of the most restricted and restive areas in the Soviet Union, Byelorussia and Ukraine?

Mr. BUSBEY. Well, the position of that resolution is not inconsistent.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Not at all, sir. It is not at all inconsistent.

I might say this: we had hoped that the State Department would take advantage of the opportunity that was granted it this past July to testify on this particular resolution, the House concurrent resolution. And I understand that they exercised some pressure to simply have things move to the point where the thing would not be considered. No such hearing took place. And we are still in the same inconsistent position.

But I do say if they can prove to the satisfaction of the House Foreign Affairs Committee that our American Ambassadors behind the Iron Curtain are of value from the point of view of intelligence, from the point of view of symbolic freedom, then on the basis of that proof, let us send American representatives to Kiev and Minsk, the capitals respectively of Ukraine and Byelorussia. However, if there is no such demonstration of justification, then let us withdraw our representatives entirely from behind the Iron Curtain.

Mr. BUSBEY. Well, when this committee made recommendation 1 (b) regarding the withdrawal of diplomatic recognition by the free non-Communist countries, the argument against it was made that we needed these listening posts in these countries.

What do you think of that as an argument?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Well, I just mentioned that, sir, when I used the term "intelligence."

I cannot say one way or the other. I think the burden of proof rests with the people in the State Department to show that these are adequate listening posts. I am at times inclined to be somewhat skeptical of the value of these listening posts.

But the opportunity was given to the State Department and they sidestepped it entirely and, characteristically, preferred to have it simply drift.

Now, if they can prove to the satisfaction of the members of the committee that "Yes, they do have intelligence value," "These are listening posts," and "We are able to get a great deal of information and data which we otherwise could not get if we did not have American Ambassadors in these respective countries," I think, on that basis, the ground for passage of House Concurrent Resolution 58 will have been well laid. Of course, we would also have to measure that with the tremendous moral effect that would result from complete withdrawal as called for in your proposal.

I think those things would have to be carefully weighed. But the first opportunity should be given to the State Department to establish the intelligence value of our American Ambassadors behind the Iron Curtain. And House Concurrent Resolution 58 provided that opportunity, which, through pressure, they felt should meet with a natural death.

Mr. BUSBY. I may say that I am in wholehearted agreement with House Concurrent Resolution 58 by Congressman Smith of Wisconsin, as long as we have any diplomats out there at all.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Yes, sir.

Mr. BUSBY. One of our former Presidents is credited with the saying, "We are confronted with a fact and not a theory."

Now, they have had quite a number of years to prove the value of these listening posts. I think the record itself shows that, despite all of the hundred and thirty billion dollars spent in the listening posts, we have neither stopped nor contained communism. It has added up to a colossal failure.

So, what is the value of listening posts? How has the end result justified that argument?

In other words, where is any proof that we have stopped or contained communism or made any progress whatsoever in stopping the progress of the Kremlin's program of world revolution.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Well, my answer to that would be that our overall policy has been a defective and negative one and continues to be containment. Now, you asked for an illustration of the value of having a staff—

Mr. BUSBY. We have not contained communism.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. That is true.

Mr. BUSBY. It has been breaking out in places and expanding right along.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. That is correct, sir.

But if I may take this occasion to cite a case:

When I was at New York University, I came to know a man who was with the military attaché during the war in Moscow. His name is Ellsworth Raymond, who teaches at New York University and writes extensively on the Soviet Union.

His sole job was to accumulate and assemble all the provincial papers that came to Moscow from the various Turkestanian repub-

lies—the five republics in the central portion of Soviet Asia—the Far East, and also Ukraine, the Caucasus, and so forth.

He was able to glean from these papers much important data. Let us say one mill where they might have honored a man for having become a stakhanovite—that is, a highly efficient worker—or he would find some occasion or festivity at another mill up in the Urals. As a result of the careful examination of such reports, he was able to build up a workable pattern of the industrial distribution in the Soviet Union.

That came out as a book, which I believe was in 1946-47, and appeared in our Department of Commerce. It was supposed to have been highly classified material. But here, I think, is one indication of what can be done with a highly competent person, this person having been in Moscow and given us a picture that otherwise could not have been obtained without this process, this work, that he was assigned to. And we gained a picture of the industrial and economic distribution throughout the Soviet Union, which I think you will grant is of tremendous value to the United States.

Mr. BUSBEY. Anyone would have to grant that a work of that kind is of tremendous value.

But I am speaking of the end result. What is the use of getting all this information of tremendous value if we cannot show some positive results?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. I agree with you, sir.

Mr. BUSBEY. And we have not shown results.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Definitely not, sir. But this pertains to policy.

Mr. BUSBEY. If we have, I would like to know where they are.

Now, in regard to Recommendation 1 (d), concerning the termination of commercial trade treaties and trade with Communist governments and the satellite countries, those in opposition to that recommendation of the committee say, "Well, that would put a tremendous hardship upon the people who still have to live and are still living behind the Iron Curtain."

And with that I must agree. There is some justification for that contention. But after hearing the people—many of the people who appeared before our committee in Europe last summer had lived under the iron heel of the Kremlin ever since the Communists took over their countries until just a few weeks before they gave their testimony. After hearing those people, I think I may be so bold as to speak for all the members of the committee when I say that the people in those countries behind the Iron Curtain, who have lived under the domination of the Kremlin beasts, are the real anti-Communists of the world.

And I think that there are a lot of good anti-Communists all over the world, but I believe these people who have had to live under the terror and the torture and the fear of Soviet dictatorship are the real anti-Communists. They know it better than anyone else, because they have lived under it.

If that is true, why should not this Kersten amendment be put into effect more than it has been to a point where we can make use of these people who are behind the Iron Curtain to organize them into military units and train them as integral parts of our military defense pattern? This would give the people enslaved behind the Iron Curtain real hope.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. The reason for that is that we still have not adopted a policy of liberation. The Kersten amendment is an integral part of the policy of liberation.

May I say this with respect to your contribution here, Congressman: I am in total agreement with that, and I think that by profession, being an economist, I should like to submit a few distinctions that are in order.

I would not go along with the idea that by completely terminating these commercial treaties and trade we would in a causative way work hardship upon the nations and the peoples behind the Iron Curtain, for two reasons: (1) That if we extended our trade relations with them, that is no guaranty that there would be any economic amelioration of their circumstances; (2) that if we terminated absolutely all treaties with them, then that would bring greater pressure upon the Kremlin, upon Moscow, which, then being confronted by centers of increasing unrest and disorder, would have to rectify the situation within the entire Communist empire that accounts for the current economic distress and privation of these peoples.

In contrast to our economy, which we loosely refer to as being a capitalistic one, the Soviet Union, in a technologic sense, is a much more capitalistic one in the manner of concentrating excessively upon the fabrication and manufacture of capital goods. And most of these capital goods have only one meaning—for war.

Its economy has always been a war economy. And this particular condition explains why there are areas of near starvation, economic privation, scarcity, increasing shortages of consumer goods in cities like Warsaw or Prague where formerly you had a relative abundance—and I use the word "abundance" qualifiedly here—of such goods. You will find this picture throughout Central Europe and also in the non-Russian areas of U. S. S. R. There seems to be only one area in which there is an adequacy of such goods, namely Muscovy. And that is only on a relative basis, because it does not satisfy even the populace in that area.

The way to bring about an economic amelioration—and, really, the sole source of it is not whether we go ahead and terminate these treaties or extend them. In extending them, I think we are playing into Moscow's hands. But it requires Moscow to begin to think in terms of a peace economy rather than a war economy—and I doubt that it can ever think in terms of a peace economy.

Mr. BUSBEY. Now, I will get down to my conclusion in regard to the section (d) and the testimony of these people we heard in Europe.

While I will agree that that would create a hardship on the people of these countries behind the Iron Curtain, I, at least, was satisfied in my own mind, after listening to their testimony, that these people would be willing to sacrifice anything in order to have an opportunity to fight for their freedom over there.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. That is true, sir.

Mr. BUSBEY. They have had to sacrifice far more than anyone else.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. That is true.

Mr. BUSBEY. And I do not believe they would consider any sacrifice too great if they just had an opportunity, or if they had just a ray of hope that in the not too distant future they would at least be given an opportunity to fight this Marxist, Communist beast in the Kremlin.

And I think your testimony brought out very clearly that this thing would fall apart from within if we could bring about something like that.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. It would definitely increase the possibilities for it.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Chairman, could I just make this observation on that particular point?

If we in the free world kept trading even with food and grain—

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. You refer to the so-called nonstrategic goods?

Mr. FEIGHAN. They are nonstrategic, so-called; but to me even a can of beans is just as strategic as a weapon or steel for the manufacture of a revolver or a gun. But what I wanted to say, Mr. Chairman, is that if we just kept sending these goods and trading foodstuffs to the Soviet Union or any nations occupied by the Russian Communists, that is still no guaranty that with the brutal methods that they have shown before, they would not create another manmade famine in various parts of the new Red Russian Empire where the people rise up and show their national aspirations, the patriotic spirit of nationalism, love of God and country. So that there is no guaranty that the hardship now suffered by the enslaved people would in fact be lessened through our trade with the Red colonial empire.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. That was precisely my point, Congressman.

And in this case, I have never subscribed—and I do not think any sound-thinking economist can—to this classification of nonstrategic goods in connection with a permanent warlike economy. And I look upon the economy of the entire Communist empire in this light, because you have many indications of close integration on the part of the Polish, Czech, Slovak, and other economies with the economy of the Soviet Union.

If you look upon it as a war economy—just as our economy here in this country during the war, but in the case of the Communists it is in proportions worse still—no goods, as you pointed out, can be regarded as nonstrategic for the simple reason that even if we were to ship considerable amounts of foodstuffs and other consumer goods behind the Iron Curtain, that would economically enable the Kremlin and its various satellites throughout the empire to shift resources from the production of such consumer goods over to capital goods, or to tanks, jets, and so forth.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Another interesting phase with reference to trade agreements is that if we are trading with the slave labor controlled by the Russian Communists, we cannot help but eventually lower our own standard of living, because free labor cannot compete with the products of slave labor. Our products would be paid for in gold which is mined in the slave labor camps of Magadan and other slave labor camps inside the empire.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. I cannot fully share your pessimistic view in that respect.

Our economy is much more advanced and we have nothing to fear from any influx of Polish hams or other consumer goods from the Soviet Union or Empire; or even, let us say, from any influx of gold. And that will hold true for other areas of the free world. I wouldn't go along with you on that score.

But as to the matter of what you brought out here, the point on slave labor, really, when you stop to consider it, it represents in a real sense a sort of continuous manmade famine. And I understand that some

have estimated the average life expectancy of individuals in these various slave labor camps throughout Asia, and also in Eastern Europe, at about 5 years. So, there is a continuous manmade famine going on so long as you have these slave labor concentration systems.

We would be making a contribution to their continuation in the case of liberalized trade.

Mr. BUSBEY. Doctor, on this free trade: I sometimes wonder whether in some of the statements that some of our officials make that we are fighting and combating communism are actually serious and sincere. I am thinking now of some of these free ports in Europe—Hamburg, Antwerp, Basel, Switzerland. Countries whose economy we have been stabilizing for years, are shipping into these free ports materials which are transported behind the Iron Curtain.

It is really nauseating to stand there on the banks of the Rhine River and look at the barges that have been going clear up to Basel, Switzerland, to deposit various materials at that free port for shipment behind the Iron Curtain.

Personally I think it is time not only to take a new look but get tough, because I believe wholeheartedly in what Gen. Douglas MacArthur said: "The only reason you fight a war is for victory."

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. That is true; entirely so, sir.

Mr. BUSBEY. And this is the most serious, most insidious, most difficult war of all wars to fight. It is responsible for the upset of our whole economy and the economy of every country in the world.

And if that is the case—and I believe it is the case—then I say we should get tough and use every possible means at our command to bring the beasts in the Kremlin to their knees and to overthrow that regime behind the Iron Curtain in order that the people not only in the satellite countries but the enslaved people of the Soviet Union might be able to create some kind of real democratic forms of government again.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. You are perfectly correct in that general statement, sir. And I agree with it wholeheartedly.

Might I say that certainly this committee could make a very substantial contribution in the spread of knowledge and understanding concerning Russian Communist imperialism in some of these European countries. Now, certainly you have a good deal of the required evidence. And I think there is considerable room in our own educational institutions for what I am going to suggest. Every educational institution should have the opportunity to study the evidence as provided by this committee.

Certainly many private groups in our country—especially those that pass resolutions periodically of an anti-Communist sort—should proceed to disseminate this type of information. Your committee should produce as many reports as possible on this subject so the truth can be better known to greater numbers of people.

In connection with the other countries in the free world, I think it would be a very solid contribution to take the more extended reports that you may very well produce in the future and have them translated into the languages of these other countries in the free world so that they may begin to understand the full significance of communism in practice.

And you might, then, as a result, have an influence within these countries exerted upon their leaders, and, as a consequence, bring an end to these scandalous situations that you have just cited here.

Mr. BUSBEY. I believe, Doctor, it is the intention of the committee to undertake such a program; and to have reports printed in various languages and distributed throughout the world so that the countries of the free world will know the facts.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. That is splendid.

Mr. BUSBEY. Now, I would like to ask this question:

Do you think it is possible to have peaceful coexistence with the Marxist Communists in the Kremlin?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. None whatsoever, sir. "Peaceful coexistence" is nothing more than the basic slogan in the current propaganda war being conducted by the Kremlin.

Mr. BUSBEY. I agree with your explanation of the term "coexistence." It reminds me of the constant play-on-words technique used by the Communists. They are very clever at that.

In my study of this subject—and having been on the lecture platform for the past 30 years against communism, I, of necessity, have attended many, many Communist meetings—I cannot recall attending a single Communist meeting where there were not at least two banners in the hall. One urged the reader to join the Communist Party, and the other urged the defense of democracy.

Of course, their interpretation of the word "democracy" is entirely different from our concept of the meaning of the word. It is the same with the word "liberation." When they go into a country and liberate it, their acts have proved that liberation does not mean the same to them as to us. Liberation to them means committing people to a life of slavery.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. That constitutes what they refer to as verbal dialectics.

Mr. BUSBEY. Now, there was some reference to the possibility that the Soviets might attack when they were in a position, powerful enough to know that we would not be able to retaliate. A great many people took issue with me when, over 10 years ago, I assured them that we were not going to get into a shooting war with the Kremlin. And I still say under present conditions we are not going to get into a shooting war with the Kremlin. But if we do not take a new look and reverse our policy, and if we wait until they have built up their armed might to such an extent that it is superior to ours and they have nothing more to fear, I would have to change my evaluation of that situation.

And I am firmly convinced that time is on their side. Every day we delay in initiating a positive program the advantage is with the Kremlin and the Marxist Communists.

Why do I say that? You can use your own estimate. Let us say that it costs them only one-tenth as much money to build a plane as it costs us. In other words, it costs us 10 times as much to build a plane as it costs the Soviets. That is because they use slave labor.

We cannot go on forever under that kind of a differential and expect to come out on top, because time is on their side.

I would like to say one thing more for the record while we are on this subject. I have been criticized very severely—but, of course, criticism does not bother me—because for years I have advocated putting into the divisions in Europe some of the manpower and soldiers of Spain. Spain is one country in Europe that is definitely anti-Communist.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. That is a very accurate statement, sir.

Mr. BUSBEY. Furthermore, it has been estimated that we can maintain 10 divisions of Spaniards in Europe for the sum it costs us to keep 1 division of Americans there.

Now, that is a differential that would be to the advantage of our side. Of course, the same argument applies as far as Asia is concerned where there is unlimited manpower which could help us. They throw up their hands in horror and say:

"What? Do business with that terrible dictator Franco?"

I desire the record to show that I have no more use for Franco and his form of government and dictatorship than I have for any other form of dictatorship. I am opposed to all dictatorships. There are dictators in Central and South America and they have been in power for years. We are keeping one of the most powerful dictators of all times in power, Tito of Yugoslavia. It should be remembered that Mr. Tito is not anti-Communist; he is just anti-Stalin. Mr. Tito is no more anti-Marxist than Mr. Stalin was ever anti-Marxist. Mr. Tito and his so-called anti-Communists are actually anti-Stalinists, and they should be called that. They are only waiting for the time when they can throw the Stalinists out of power in the Kremlin and take over themselves. And when they do, things will be worse than they have been in the past, in my humble opinion.

Now, in conclusion, on behalf of the committee I wish to express appreciation not only of your excellent testimony today, but of your very complimentary remarks concerning the work the committee is doing.

I may say that not one member of this committee was selected for political reasons or purposes. And that goes for whether they are Democrats or Republicans. They were selected because of their special background and the knowledge they had of the subject matter that this committee was to study.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. That I know, sir. That is a fact well known to those who have followed the work of the committee.

Mr. BUSBEY. And I think that is the first time in the history of the House of Representatives that any such method of selection of a committee was ever made. It is easy for us to agree unanimously on certain conclusions and recommendations as we did in the second interim report.

Mr. FEIGHAN. I likewise would like to express my appreciation for the splendid testimony that you have afforded this committee. I am confident you have made an important contribution to the objectives of the committee in bringing about a practical understanding throughout the entire world of just what communism is in practice. It means slavery, brutality, and every evil that could be conceived of.

But it seems to me that there is a very important question that we must face. And we cannot wait too long until we face it. And that question is: How many "new looks" can we take and still fail to develop a positive political and moral offensive against this international Communist conspiracy in order to avert a sneak attack by the Russian Communists?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Sir, we have taken many new looks in a verbal sense. When we speak of a real policy of liberation, I take it we are seeking at least the first deed of such a policy. And there are definitely many ways by which a policy of liberation can be implemented. Cer-

tainly the Kersten amendment has been mentioned here, even in the matter of the formation of the various national military units. I recall in 1951—in fact, I played some role in support of the Kersten amendment—it was at that time after a meeting that we staged up in New York with Guy Gabrielson and a few others who were there, that repercussions were felt behind the Iron Curtain to the popular advocacy of the implementation of the Kersten amendment. It is in the law. It was in the Mutual Security Act as an amendment. It gives the President power—as it gave Mr. Truman power, and still gives Mr. Eisenhower the power—to implement according to the provisions of this amendment. Congress has approved of it. Of course, it is not mandatory. It is only permissive. But if we had individuals in the executive branch of Government who would follow and uphold some of their expressions of 2 years ago, or even of last year, I should imagine that such a program that Congress has already approved of would be fully implemented.

So, we really have not taken a new look, not in any real sense, in the sense of real deeds.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Well, perhaps I didn't quite make myself clear.

I am thoroughly familiar, of course, and am an enthusiastic supporter of, the Kersten amendment. And I hope the President will implement it by establishing these national military units made up of escapees from the captive nations and attached to NATO. But my question with reference to the new look was that we cannot continue just taking a new look without establishing and implementing a positive policy.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. That is correct.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you.

Mr. BUSBEY. Thank you, Dr. Dobriansky.

The WITNESS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. BUSBEY. We will take a short recess.

(A short recess was taken.)

Mr. BUSBEY. The committee will come to order.

Mr. McTigue, do you have a statement to make concerning the next witness?

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, the witness who is before the committee at the moment desires to testify under an assumed name for the reason that he has close relatives who are living in Armenia at the present time. He is fearful that if he testifies under his correct name, his testimony may bring about certain reprisals.

As a consequence, Mr. Chairman, may I suggest that this witness be permitted to testify under a pseudonym in order to protect his relatives who are now behind the Iron Curtain?

Mr. BUSBEY. Have you satisfied yourself regarding his correct name?

Mr. McTIGUE. I have.

Mr. BUSBEY. And the authenticity of his testimony?

Mr. McTIGUE. I have, Mr. Chairman. We have the witness' correct name in our committee files. And we are satisfied as to the authenticity of his testimony.

Mr. BUSBEY. Without objection, then, it is so ordered.

Mr. McTIGUE. The witness, Mr. Chairman, will testify under the name of "Mr. Charles" if there is no objection.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Chitjian, you will interpret for the witness?

Mr. CHITJIAN. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Mr. BUSBEY. Will you stand and identify yourself to the reporter and be sworn, please.

Mr. CHITJIAN. My name is Nernes Chitjian.

Mr. BUSBEY. Do you solemnly swear that you will correctly and truthfully interpret the testimony of the witness before this committee?

TESTIMONY OF NERNES CHITJIAN (MR. CHARLES)

Mr. CHITJIAN. I do.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Chitjian, do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give this committee will be the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CHARLES. Yes.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Counsel.

Mr. McTIGUE. Are you residing in Chicago at the present time, Mr. Charles?

Mr. CHARLES. Yes. My address is 2430 West Gladys Avenue, West Chicago, Ill.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were born, Mr. Charles, in 1904 in Kars, Armenia?

Mr. CHARLES. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you were educated in the grammar schools in Kars and worked as I understand it in a warehouse until such time as you joined the Red army in 1941 as an interpreter; is that correct?

Mr. CHARLES. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is my understanding correct that you were captured at Stalingrad when you were a member of the Red army?

Mr. CHARLES. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. After your capture by the Germans at Stalingrad, you managed to escape to Italy; is that correct?

Mr. CHARLES. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. You finally emigrated to the United States in 1951 under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948; is that correct?

Mr. CHARLES. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Charles, can you tell us briefly about your first contact with communism?

Mr. CHARLES. My first contact with the Communists was in February of 1921 in Georgia. At that time, when the Communist revolution engulfed Georgia, they occupied the country, took over the telegraph system, the railroad system, the governmental agencies and seized the police agencies in the country, and also seized the editors of all the leading newspapers in the country of Georgia.

Mr. McTIGUE. Are you now talking about the Communist takeover of Georgia?

Mr. CHARLES. Yes. That was my first contact with the Communists when I was in Georgia.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you have contact with the Communists in Armenia?

Mr. CHARLES. In the year that I speak of, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation was at that time in the midst of a battle against the Communist forces which had already been in the county but were in the process of being driven out in February of 1921.

For that reason, I was obliged to remain in Georgia until such time as the roads were open in order to travel back to Armenia.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you return to Armenia?

Mr. CHARLES. In May of 1922.

Mr. McTIGUE. At that time had the Communists taken over Armenia?

Mr. CHARLES. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Upon your return to Armenia from Georgia, where you also witnessed the Communist takeover, what happened to you in Armenia? Were you required to work at forced labor, or were you arrested, or what happened to you?

Mr. CHARLES. I was merely the son of a poor villager; and, therefore, did not have anything and was not of any prominence. They would seize the intelligentsia—that is, the intellectuals and other prominent people of the country—and because I did not fall into that classification, I was left alone.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were there arrests and executions and mass deportations at that time in Armenia?

Mr. CHARLES. During this period when the Communists occupied Armenia, they seized all of the officials of the country. They seized the lands and incorporated them into a government-owned project, and all the landowners and the intellectuals were seized and thrown into jail. And from there, they would either be shot or exiled to far-off points in the Russian Empire.

Mr. McTIGUE. This happened in 1922; is that correct?

Mr. CHARLES. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you remain in Armenia from 1922 until 1938? Did you continue to live in Armenia?

Mr. CHARLES. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did there come a time in 1938, Mr. Charles, when you yourself were arrested by the Communists?

Mr. CHARLES. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Why?

Mr. CHARLES. In 1938 I was attending an accounting school. And in the classes, no mention was ever made of any of the heroes or authors and writers of Armenia. No mention was ever made of the history of Armenia prior to the Communist occupation of the country. However, in 1938, by chance they celebrated the 2,000th anniversary of one of the heroes of early Armenia. His name was Sassountsi David. And during one of the classes, I questioned the instructor of the class as to why it was that until now no mention was made of the history of Armenia, the past history of Armenia, and why no importance was given to any of its national feelings, to its authors and heroes and other intellectuals.

The Communist system of government requires that everyone be kept under constant surveillance regardless of his position in life. No matter how small the person might be in society, he is still watched very carefully.

Because of this indiscreet question that I raised in the classroom, I was seized by the NKVD and taken to their headquarters for questioning. I was subsequently given a sentence and was kept in prison for 9 months and 4 days.

COMMUNIST TAKEOVER OF NON-RUSSIAN NATIONS

Ir. McTIGUE. After you were arrested and charged, were you taken to the NKVD prison, beaten up, tortured in any respect?

Ir. CHARLES. When I was taken to the offices of the NKVD I was confronted with charges of being a counterrevolutionary and anti-communist. When I failed to confess to these charges—because they were not true—I was taken into a room and two men proceeded to beat me heavily with the butts of their guns and kicked me with their boots. They continued this treatment for 30 minutes. And although I received the first blows that were struck upon my person, I soon became numb and had no feeling of the rest of the beating that they administered during those 30 minutes.

Ir. McTIGUE. Were there any further beatings, then, after your ordeal?

Ir. CHARLES. I was also beaten on another occasion for 10 minutes, because I refused to speak in Russian to the NKVD interrogator. The interrogator spoke to me in Russian, and I would answer him in Armenian. And although I knew how to speak Russian, I did not wish to disclose my knowledge. For that reason, I was beaten for 10 minutes.

Ir. McTIGUE. After you completed your sentence of 9 months, were you then released, and did you then continue to live in Armenia?

Ir. CHARLES. Yes.

Ir. McTIGUE. And did there come a time in 1941 when you were drafted into the Red army?

Ir. CHARLES. Yes.

Ir. McTIGUE. Were you drafted as a soldier in the Red army?

Ir. CHARLES. I was drafted into the Red army as a soldier interpreter in four languages: Armenian, Azerbaijan, Georgian, and Russian.

Ir. McTIGUE. And during your service in the Red army, you were assigned to duties as an interpreter because of the four languages that you spoke; is that correct?

Ir. CHARLES. Yes.

Ir. McTIGUE. Can you tell us something briefly about your experience in the Red army from 1941 on?

Ir. CHARLES. During my service in the Red army as an interpreter, I was called to the office of the political instructor who was always sent with the troops. And there I was given a prepared lecture to present before the troops. And this lecture consisted of accusations against the United States of America. The lecture accused the United States of taking advantage of the Negro population in the United States. It accused—using the language of the lecture—the American capitalists of purchasing Negroes in the market place as slaves and disposing of them as they saw fit, regarding them as personal property.

The lecture also accused the United States of keeping the American Negroes in servitude. It said that they were not free.

The lecture mentioned that the working people of the United States were downtrodden, had to sleep in the streets, and were constantly hungry, and that there was a great famine that spread over the entire nation. And it said that millions were left jobless. This, of course, was said to do because it was so ordered. I did it not with my free will, because I was ordered to do it.

Mr. BUSBEY. Pardon me, Mr. Counsel. What year was that?

Mr. CHARLES. This was December 19, 1941.

Mr. BUSBEY. Were you given lectures along that line at the time that the Red army was supposed to be an ally of United States in fighting the Nazis?

Mr. CHARLES. At that time, the United States was not in actual combat with Germany. However, the Red army was.

Mr. BUSBEY. Yes. But my question was did these lectures occur at a time when both the Red army and the American Army were at war against the Nazis.

Mr. CHARLES. I was captured as a prisoner by the Germans in 1942. And, therefore, I have no knowledge of what went on subsequently. However, I had no knowledge that the United States was in the war at that time these lectures were made.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were captured by the Germans when and where?

Mr. CHARLES. January 16, 1942, in Fedozia in the Crimea.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you subsequently manage to escape from the Germans?

Mr. CHARLES. No.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were a prisoner of war, then, until the end of the war, is that correct?

Mr. CHARLES. Until April 25, 1945, I remained in Germany in a prisoner-of-war camp.

Mr. McTIGUE. After you were released, did you stay in Germany?

Mr. CHARLES. The prisoner-of-war camp in which I was staying was liberated by the American forces. However the Americans and the British were allowing the Soviets to take their former nationals and return them from whence they came, against their will.

Fearing for my safety, and not wishing to return behind the Iron Curtain, I fled from Germany to Milan, Italy, where I remained for 5 years.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you emigrate eventually to the United States?

Mr. CHARLES. After remaining in Milan, Italy, I was made eligible under the Displaced Persons Act and was removed by the IRO to Naples, Italy. From there I was taken to Austria, then to Germany, and finally to Bremen where I boarded a ship and arrived in New York on November 13, 1951.

Mr. McTIGUE. I have no further questions.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Feighan?

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Witness, after you were taken to the NKVD headquarters and were sentenced to 9 months and 4 days in prison, were you required to work?

Mr. CHARLES. I was not given any work to do. I was not put on any labor because of the fact that I was held in a prison cell.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Prior to your arrest in 1938, was there a time in which you were, or during which you were forced to labor by the Communists?

Mr. CHARLES. In this way I was forced to work prior to that and subsequent to my imprisonment: everyone under the Communist system is required to work. And everyone is put on a job and required to remain on the same job. He is not allowed to change jobs or to seek other work. He has no freedom of choice at all.

Mr. FEIGHAN. That is all.

Mr. BUSBEY. Any further questions, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. McTIGUE. I have no further questions.

Mr. BUSBEY. Do you wish to make a further statement, Mr. Charles?

Mr. CHARLES. I would like to say something in addition to my testimony.

I would just like to say that the Communist system of life and the Communist government is a system that should be rejected by every class of people in the world. It is not necessary for the working class or the middle class or the capitalist class. And it is impossible for freemen to live with communism in the same world.

Mr. BUSBEY. We agree with you.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask one further question.

Mr. BUSBEY. All right.

Mr. FEIGHAN. While the Communists were in control of Armenia, did you have an opportunity to observe the tactics of the Russian Communists toward religion?

Mr. CHARLES. The Communists seized all churches in Armenia with the exception of one. That is the mother church of Armenia called Etchmiadzin. That alone was not seized. However, it is also under the control of the Communists. The other churches were seized. The clergymen were turned out in the streets and then humiliated so as to be ridiculed by the masses. All religious books and religious pictures were thrown out in the street to be trodden upon. The churches themselves were turned into warehouses and barns and were used for the purpose of storing livestock such as cattle, sheep, and donkeys. And in general, religion was regarded as nonexistent.

Mr. FEIGHAN. What denominations of religion were in Armenia at that time?

Mr. CHARLES. At that time there was the Armenian Apostolic Church, which is the Orthodox Church, the state religion of Armenia. And there were a minority of Armenians who believed in the Catholic faith.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were there any Moslems, believers in the Mohammedan faith?

Mr. CHARLES. At that time there were Azerbaijanians who believed in the Mohammedan religion and several other lesser known nations—Kurds, some Turks, some others who were Mohammedan.

Mr. FEIGHAN. But the Moslem religion, then, was treated with the same terror and disregard and was destroyed just like the Catholic and the Orthodox and other religions, is that correct?

Mr. CHARLES. The same treatment was accorded to the Mohammedan mosques—those cities that had Mohammedan mosques, and also to the Mohammedan priests. They also were seized and given the same treatment, exile or execution, as the Christians were. The Communists were against religion in any form.

Mr. FEIGHAN. That included, also, then, the Jewish synagogues?

Mr. CHARLES. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you.

Mr. McTIGUE. The next witness, Mr. Chairman, is Mr. Kalajian.

Mr. BUSBEY. Will you stand and give your name to the reporter?

Mr. KALAJIAN. Archie Kalajian.

Mr. BUSBEY. Will you be sworn, please?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give the committee this afternoon is the whole truth, so help you God?

TESTIMONY OF ARCHIE KALAJIAN

Mr. KALAJIAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Counsel?

Mr. McTIGUE. Where are you residing at the present time, Mr. Kalajian?

Mr. KALAJIAN. 1426 West Superior Street, Chicago, Ill.

Mr. McTIGUE. How are you employed?

Mr. KALAJIAN. I am employed at Belnap & Thompson, 340 North Dearborn Street.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Kalajian, you were born in 1920 in Turkey and moved to Greece as a small child, in 1921, isn't that correct?

Mr. KALAJIAN. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And when you were 12 years old, in 1932, you moved Armenia?

Mr. KALAJIAN. Yes. My parents moved there.

Mr. McTIGUE. You moved there because you thought life in Armenia would be much better than it was in Greece, is that correct? That is, your parents did?

Mr. KALAJIAN. Yes. Of course, my father didn't know that we were going to get a worse living in Armenia. However, an agent from the Soviet Union came in Greece and he made propaganda that why, if you are an Armenian, you are living in a foreign country. Go back to Armenia. We have built houses for you. We have built everything for you. You had better go back to Armenia and work for your own country. Why are you working in Greece if you are an Armenian?

My father thought it would be better to go back to Armenia and make a better living, because my father was a farmer, and he thought that if he would get some land, he could make a better living than in Greece.

Mr. McTIGUE. Your father was originally an Armenian?

Mr. KALAJIAN. Yes, he was an Armenian.

Mr. McTIGUE. And he was living in Greece in 1921 and you were a small child at the time?

Mr. KALAJIAN. He was living in Turkey in 1921. After 1921, my parents moved to Greece.

Mr. McTIGUE. They moved to Greece?

Mr. KALAJIAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now, he was in Greece at the time the Soviet agent came to him and attempted to persuade him to return to Armenia?

Mr. KALAJIAN. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Armenia was the country of his birth?

Mr. KALAJIAN. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And the Soviet agent told him he should return because conditions were good in Armenia, housing was good and that he would be given land to work?

Mr. KALAJIAN. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Your father apparently believed at the time what the Soviet agent was telling him about good conditions in Armenia, because he did return back to Armenia, isn't that correct?

Mr. KALAJIAN. Well, not only my father, but thousands of Armenians in Greece believed it.

Mr. McTIGUE. They were all persuaded to move back to Armenia by the Communist propaganda?

Mr. KALAJIAN. Yes. In one ship, for example, there were more than 5,000 Armenians returning to Armenia.

Mr. McTIGUE. And this entire caravan was persuaded by the Soviet agents through propaganda to return to Armenia?

Mr. KALAJIAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. What kind of conditions did you and your family and the others find when they arrived back in Armenia?

Mr. KALAJIAN. When we got off at Batum—Batum is a port on the Black Sea—when we got off, they made a custom search of all our belongings, and they took away our religious books. My mother and my father had our Bible, and some religious books. They took it away.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did they take your clothes away and your other possessions?

Mr. KALAJIAN. Yes, my father had three new suits of clothes. They took them away.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you were beginning to find out then, almost immediately, that life in Communist occupied Armenia was not what Soviet propaganda said it was. You found that out almost from the moment you arrived?

Mr. KALAJIAN. Yes; that is so.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were very young, then?

Mr. KALAJIAN. Yes; I was 12 years old, then.

Mr. McTIGUE. They, the Communists, promised you a lot, but what did they actually give you?

Mr. KALAJIAN. They promised that they have built houses for us, everything in the homeland would be in good condition.

Well, as a starter, they took us in cattle cars from Batum into Armenia.

Mr. McTIGUE. Cattle cars?

Mr. KALAJIAN. Yes. In 1 car almost 50 families were packed in 1 cattle car. We were packed just like sardines in one cattle car.

Mr. McTIGUE. They took you in the cattle cars from the port to where you were going to be resettled?

Mr. KALAJIAN. Yes, sir, and for 5 days we traveled until we got to Sardarabad. It is 40 miles from the capital of Armenia, and they moved us to some collective farms, and we saw that there were no houses built for us. Everything was mixed up, and they divided us into groups. Into 1 room they put 5 or 6 families.

We didn't know what to do, and my father was very nervous about that condition, and after a couple of months from this nervousness, he got sick.

And, of course, we didn't have any goods in quantity. They promised to give us food, clothing, everything. They took our clothing, and everything. And we were also starving.

My father and my mother started to work for the collective farm, and we had to work for the entire year before we received our share of the harvest in order to live. However, they would, from time to time, grant us an advance toward our share of the harvest so that we were able to exist until the end of the year.

Mr. McTIGUE. Do you think that once you had been selected or situated on the collective farm and after you had really moved from

Greece to Armenia that you could have left that collective farm any time you wanted to and returned to Greece?

Mr. KALAJIAN. We couldn't do that. That would be impossible.

We were not able to leave the collective farm once we were on it. However, many of the people who worked on the collective farm were able to escape. All young men who were single and had no family ties escaped across the river into Turkey. We were not able to escape because of the fact that there were three children plus my mother and father in the family.

Mr. McTIGUE. What happened to your father, eventually?

Mr. KALAJIAN. Because we didn't have enough food, my father developed a nervous sickness. The doctor said if he could have good food, if he could have enough fat or butter or meat supplies, then he would be healthy.

Well, but the Communists, they promised to give everything, to take care of us, but they didn't take care of us. So my father was 48 years old at that time when he died from hunger.

Mr. McTIGUE. Starvation?

Mr. KALAJIAN. Starvation, yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did your mother and sisters then continue on at the collective farm?

Mr. KALAJIAN. Yes, my mother took over responsibility for the family, and she took care of us until I was drafted into the Red army. But before I was drafted into the Red army, my mother died, in 1942.

Mr. McTIGUE. When were you drafted in 1942?

Mr. KALAJIAN. June 9, 1942.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were all the young men of draft age taken into the Red army?

Mr. KALAJIAN. Yes, from 18 years old until 40, or 45 years they were drafted.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where did you take training?

Mr. KALAJIAN. I was transported from the capital of Armenia to Gorki, in Georgia, which is regarded as one of the basic military camps in the Soviet Union.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you serve in the infantry?

Mr. KALAJIAN. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you sent to fight against the Germans?

Mr. KALAJIAN. In the Crimea.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you eventually captured by the Germans in the Crimea?

Mr. KALAJIAN. Yes. There were almost 20,000 persons captured.

Mr. McTIGUE. How many?

Mr. KALAJIAN. A whole division—20,000.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you captured by the German Army in the Crimea?

Mr. KALAJIAN. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. What happened to you then, after you were captured by the Germans?

Mr. KALAJIAN. Well, when the Germans captured us, they moved us to some European countries, such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, for work purposes.

Mr. McTIGUE. As a prisoner of war, then, you remained in Germany until the end of the war, did you?

Mr. KALAJIAN. Yes, then in 1945 the American Army came into Germany and gave us liberation.

Mr. McTIGUE. What happened to your mother and sister in the meantime?

Mr. KALAJIAN. During that time?

Mr. McTIGUE. Yes.

Mr. KALAJIAN. I don't know.

Mr. McTIGUE. Have you ever heard what happened to them?

Mr. KALAJIAN. Well, my mother was dead, but the two sisters, I had, they were living. I don't know if they are living now or not. One of them got married.

Mr. McTIGUE. And when did you eventually emigrate to the United States?

Mr. KALAJIAN. I emigrated to the United States in 1950, June.

Mr. McTIGUE. Under the Displaced Persons Act of 1949?

Mr. KALAJIAN. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. I have no further questions.

Mr. FEIGHAN. You mentioned that when you were 12 years old and with your family, you were packed into a cattle car and taken into Armenia.

Mr. KALAJIAN. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. You were placed in 1 room that held 5 families?

Mr. KALAJIAN. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Would you describe just briefly the size of that room?

Mr. KALAJIAN. Well, the size of the room—the room was just like this [indicating] to hold five families. From that post over this way, from here over to the wall.

Mr. FEIGHAN. That would be roughly about 25 feet square.

Mr. KALAJIAN. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Twenty-five feet on each side?

Mr. KALAJIAN. Nearly; yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. That was the wonderful new home that you were promised all for yourselves by the Soviet agent?

Mr. KALAJIAN. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. When you were settled in Armenia, were you able to get any religious books such as those that were taken from you or from your parents at the port on the Black Sea?

Mr. KALAJIAN. You mean after our settlement in Armenia?

Mr. FEIGHAN. Yes.

Mr. KALAJIAN. There were no churches in Armenia, and they don't sell religious books, because they claim that there is no God. They don't believe in God. They don't believe in Jesus Christ. Therefore, there are no churches permitted in Armenia.

Mr. FEIGHAN. You weren't able to go to any churches?

Mr. KALAJIAN. No. The churches were all turned into warehouses or barns, and they deteriorated into ruins. They were not regarded as a place of worship or a place that should be honored and respected, and they used it for the lowliest of purposes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Did you say that your family was unable to obtain religious articles such as prayer books?

Mr. KALAJIAN. No. They could not obtain religious books.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you very much for your testimony. We appreciate the contribution that you have made.

Mr. KALAJIAN. And now I would like to express to you my happiness of being able to come over to this country, and I have the best living in this country that I ever had. I just love my new country, and therefore, I say God bless you America.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you again.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Woskerczian. Will you state your name, please?

Your name, Mr. Witness, is spelled as follows: The first name is A-r-k-a-d-i-e; and your last name is spelled W-o-s-k-e-r-c-z-i-a-n, and you reside at 1426 West Superior Street in Chicago?

TESTIMONY OF ARKADIE WOSKERCZIAN

Mr. WOSKERCZIAN. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Are you employed in Chicago at the present time?

Mr. WOSKERCZIAN. No.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you are of Armenian nationality, isn't that correct?

Mr. WOSKERCZIAN. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were born in 1887 in Sevastapol, Russia?

Mr. WOSKERCZIAN. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you were educated and received your schooling there?

Mr. WOSKERCZIAN. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And did you work and earn your living in Sevastopol and Rostov?

Mr. WOSKERCZIAN. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you lived in Rostov until 1945, is that correct?

Mr. WOSKERCZIAN. Until 1943.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you living in Rostov when the Communists took over control?

Mr. WOSKERCZIAN. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where is Rostov?

Mr. WOSKERCZIAN. It is located in Ukraine, on the Caspian Sea.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Is it not true, as this map shows, that Rostov is south and east of Ukraine in Khazakstan on the sea of Oziy, which is adjoining the Black Sea?

Mr. WOSKERCZIAN. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were living in Rostov when the Communists took over the city in 1920?

Mr. WOSKERCZIAN. The answer is "Yes."

Mr. McTIGUE. Was it at that time when you were arrested by the Reds in 1921?

Mr. WOSKERCZIAN. That was not the time that I was arrested by the Communists. At the time I was arrested by the Communists was early in 1934.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you arrested by the Communists in the city of Rostov in 1934?

Mr. WOSKERCZIAN. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Why were you arrested?

Mr. WOSKERCZIAN. At that time among a group of so-called friends. I made some references to the leaders of the Communist Party and made a remark regarding Lenin, that Lenin was waiting for Trotsky. And for that reason, I was seized and taken to jail and given a sentence of 3 years.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you sentenced to Siberia for a period of 3 years?

Mr. WOSKERCZIAN. Yes. They sent me to Siberia.

Mr. McTIGUE. How many prisoners were there in the camp in Siberia where you were sent?

Mr. WOSKERCZIAN. There were between twenty-eight and thirty thousand men in the camp in which I was imprisoned. However, we were working on a railroad; and this railroad had 28 sections. And each section contained twenty-eight to thirty thousand men.

Mr. McTIGUE. Twenty-eight thousand?

Mr. WOSKERCZIAN. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Then there were approximately 800,000 to a million prisoners working at that point.

Mr. WOSKERCZIAN. That is right.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you were forced to work on this railroad along with the rest of those thousands upon thousands of prisoners?

Mr. WOSKERCZIAN. I was forced to do hard labor on the railroad gang.

Mr. FEIGHAN. How many hours a day did you work on the labor gangs?

Mr. WOSKERCZIAN. Six days a week from ten to twelve hours each day. The reason we did not work any longer than that was because it would get very dark after 12 hours and we couldn't see to work.

Mr. FEIGHAN. How much were you paid for your work?

Mr. WOSKERCZIAN. I received 4 to 5 rubles a month for this work. This money was just barely enough to buy a few cigarettes. It was not enough in value to purchase anything else other than that.

Mr. FEIGHAN. That was your wages in the Communist paradise—the Communist workers' paradise?

Mr. WOSKERCZIAN. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Did you have many foreign visitors come to inspect the railroad?

Mr. WOSKERCZIAN. From time to time we used to have visitors to that section of the country to inspect the railroad that was being built there. In many cases, these were people from labor unions in other countries, officials of labor unions. And they would be conducted on a tour of the railroad. And during this tour, we were not allowed to be out in the open. We were locked up in our barracks and kept there until the tour of the foreign visitors was over. And the people who were being taken on this tour were told that the railroad was being built by free enterprise, that the workers on the railroad would come and work there of their own free will and then return to their homes any time they wished.

Mr. FEIGHAN. And you and your involuntary associates then never had any opportunity to talk or converse with the foreign visitors who were made the victims of the big lie?

Mr. WOSKERCZIAN. No.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you serve your full sentence out there?

Mr. WOSKERCZIAN. No. I was given approximately 4 or 5 months off for good behavior.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you were released from this forced labor camp in 1937; is that correct?

Mr. WOSKERCZIAN. Yes. At that time I was released in 1937.

Mr. McTIGUE. And following your release, did you return to Rostov?

Mr. WOSKERCZIAN. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you continued to live in Rostov, did you, until the city was occupied by the Germans during World War II?

Mr. WOSKERCZIAN. Yes.

At that time when the Germans were going to take the town, I was left in the stationary store that I worked in. The Communists fled the city because they knew it was going to be captured. And I was left to remain and take charge of the store. When the Germans came in, they appropriated all the stock and material in the store. And I, fearing for the retaliation that was sure to come should the Communists return to the city, fled out of the city to the north. Then I was captured by the Germans at another town and taken into Germany.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you remained in Germany, did you, until you eventually emigrated in 1951 to the United States as a displaced person under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948?

Mr. WOSKERCZIAN. Yes. Until 1951, February.

Mr. McTIGUE. I have no further questions.

Mr. FEIGHAN. You stated that you were born in Sevastopol?

Mr. WOSKERCZIAN. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Well, that is the seaport in the Black Sea on the southwestern part of Crimea; is that correct?

Mr. WOSKERCZIAN. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you.

On behalf of the committee, I wish to express our appreciation for your presence and your testimony which has been a contribution to our hearings.

The meeting will be adjourned until tomorrow morning at 9:30 in this same room.

(Whereupon, at 5:30 p. m., the hearing adjourned, to reconvene at 9:30 a. m., October 19, 1954.)

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST TAKEOVER AND OCCUPATION OF THE NON-RUSSIAN NATIONS OF THE U. S. S. R.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1954

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMUNIST AGGRESSION
OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
THE INCORPORATION OF BALTIIC STATES INTO THE U. S. S. R.
Chicago, Ill.

The committee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 9:50 a. m. in room 209, Federal Courthouse, 219 South Clark Street, Chicago, Ill., Hon. Fred E. Busbey, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.

Present: Messrs. Busbey, Madden, Machrowicz, and Feighan.

Also present: James J. McTigue, committee counsel.

Mr. BUSBEY. The committee will come to order.

Mr. WASIL PUNTUS, will you raise your right hand and be sworn, please?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give the committee this morning will be the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

TESTIMONY OF WASIL PUNTUS

Mr. PUNTUS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BUSBEY. Will you give the reporter your name, spelling it for him, please?

Mr. PUNTUS. W-a-s-i-l P-u-n-t-u-s.

Mr. BUSBEY. We will have the record show that Mr. Zabrosky has been sworn and will act as interpreter, if necessary.

Mr. Puntus, will you give for the record where you live and a brief history of your background, stating where you were born and where you went to school, and tell what happened between the years 1939 and 1942?

Mr. PUNTUS. I was born in March 1920 in Mozyr.

Mr. BUSBEY. Where do you live now?

Mr. PUNTUS. 1426 West Superior Street, Chicago, Ill.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mozyr is in Byelorussia, which is now incorporated into the U. S. S. R.?

Mr. PUNTUS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BUSBEY. Did you go to school at Mozyr?

Mr. PUNTUS. Yes.

Mr. BUSBEY. What schools did you attend in Byelorussia?

Mr. PUNTUS. A teachers school.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You studied to be a teacher?

Mr. PUNTUS. Yes.

Mr. BUSBEY. You were a teacher in a grade school?

Mr. PUNTUS. Yes.

Mr. BUSBEY. How long were you a teacher in a grade school?

Mr. PUNTUS. I taught from September 1939 to 1941.

Mr. BUSBEY. What happened then?

Mr. PUNTUS. When I teach, I saw—

Mr. BUSBEY. I mean, after you finished teaching in 1941. Why did you discontinue teaching?

Mr. PUNTUS. The Second World War started.

Mr. BUSBEY. Did you go into the army?

Mr. PUNTUS. Yes.

Mr. BUSBEY. What army?

Mr. PUNTUS. The Red army.

Mr. BUSBEY. The Red army?

Mr. PUNTUS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BUSBEY. Were you compelled to go into the Red army? Were you conscripted into the Red army?

Mr. PUNTUS. No. Everybody, every young man was taken together and moved back to the east.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. I think you better interpret that.

Mr. PUNTUS. I said that every man and boy was compelled to register for service in the Red army under threat of Communist repression or punishment.

Mr. BUSBEY. How long were you in the Red army?

Mr. PUNTUS. On October 15, I returned back home. I never wore a uniform because there were too many people conscripted and the Russian Red army didn't have enough uniforms for so many people. I was walking toward the east with my friends for 20 days—every day for 20 days we covered about 40 or 50 kilometers.

Mr. BUSBEY. Did you just leave the Red army?

Mr. PUNTUS. No, sir.

Mr. BUSBEY. Why did you go back home?

Mr. PUNTUS. Because German Army was going faster, and soon we were surrounded by the German Army. Everybody was then supposed to go where he wanted. We supposed to be fighting against German, but we can't. We don't have guns; we don't have nothing; we didn't have anything to eat.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do I understand you right to say that although you registered for service, you weren't given uniform and guns because of the shortage and in the meantime the German Army was advancing so fast that your area was surrounded so that you were all told to disperse to your homes, is that correct?

Mr. PUNTUS. Yes.

Mr. BUSBEY. You went back home, and what did you do and how long did you stay back home?

Mr. PUNTUS. I work on a farm until 1942, in August.

Mr. BUSBEY. What did you do after that?

Mr. PUNTUS. The German police and soldiers required every young man be taken to the big village—small town. Some people were sent into Germany for work, and younger men were taken to the police and all who could fight against Russian communism, working together with Germans.

Mr. BUSBEY. Now, during that time of German occupation, what did you do?

Mr. PUNTUS. After I was in propaganda school—

Mr. BUSBEY. The German propaganda school?

Mr. PUNTUS. German propaganda school.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you a student or did you teach?

Mr. PUNTUS. I was student.

I was 3 months in the school, and after that I was taken to Germany and shown how the German farmer lived, how the German worker lived. We were supposed to tell our Byelorussian people, how the good German people live, and tell the truth about Germany, and we supposed to be watching and fighting against Bolshevism.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Chairman, may I suggest that probably the story would be clearer if he gave it through an interpreter. He has a little difficulty with the language.

Mr. BUSBEY. Yes, and I will ask the counsel, Mr. McTigue, to continue the interrogation.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is it true that you started teaching school in 1939?

Mr. PUNTUS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where, and what school?

Mr. PUNTUS. It was a grade school in a small town by the name of Chamicsi.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you required to teach Communist propaganda?

Mr. PUNTUS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. What kind of propaganda, for example?

Mr. PUNTUS. I was required to teach the children in my school that they were very fortunate to live in a land of such a high standard of living, despite the fact that my students were ill fed and ill clothed.

Mr. McTIGUE. Do you think that this kind of teaching was making any impression on the youngsters?

Mr. PUNTUS. Despite my teaching the children the propaganda every day, they were children, and they had to be taught that living conditions in the Soviet Union were better than anywhere in the world, no matter what my personal opinion may have been.

The opinion of the children's parents was not affected in any way by the Communist propaganda which I was forced to teach.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. The question that the counsel asked is whether, in your opinion, this propaganda had any effect on the children.

Mr. PUNTUS. Well, as I mentioned—I could not say whether it had any effect on the children, because they were children, but their parents were not affected by what the children learned, because they were older and more intelligent than children in a grade school who, never seeing better living conditions, did not realize that the living conditions under which they existed were so primitive.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you required, as the instructor, to teach anti-American propaganda, to give the children instructions on how bad the United States is and to brand Americans as imperialistic, and so forth?

Mr. PUNTUS. In my town, I was not required to teach anything anti-American, because the tendency at that time was to teach my children as to how bad living conditions were in Poland, France, Germany, and other European countries.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now, were you or any members of your immediate family mistreated at any time by the Communists?

Mr. PUNTUS. In 1938 my father was compelled to enter into a kholhose or cooperative farm. He resisted for a time, but after threats of reprisal, was forced to join one of the Communist collective farms.

Despite my father's cooperation or defensive cooperation, he was arrested in 1941, just before Easter.

Mr. McTIGUE. What happened to him eventually? Did you ever learn?

Mr. PUNTUS. I don't know.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you, yourself, arrested by the Communists in 1941?

Mr. PUNTUS. I was arrested in 1945.

Mr. McTIGUE. Why?

Mr. PUNTUS. The answer to that question is that after the war began and the Russians retreated, the Germans came, and I was compelled or forced to join the German Army.

When the Russians returned in 1945, I was in Danzig and was arrested.

Mr. McTIGUE. In 1942, you were in the German Army, you taught in a propaganda school located in Byelorussia; is that correct?

Mr. PUNTUS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Then when the Russians reoccupied Byelorussia in 1944, were you at that time drafted into the Red army, or were you captured, or what happened?

Mr. PUNTUS. When the Russians encircled and captured the town in which I was, I was arrested and held for questioning for 4 days. The Russians asked every type of information about myself as to my background and education, et cetera.

After 4 days, I was fortunate enough to make a successful escape from my captors.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where did you escape to, then?

Mr. PUNTUS. My escape was one in which I fled to a group of approximately 12,000 forced laborers who were being held in Danzig. I changed my name and the Russians spent quite a bit of time in trying to locate me. A few days later, the Russians forced these 12,000 people, including myself, to join in the front which was fighting against the German Army. At the River Oder—

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you remain with the Red army throughout the period of the war—World War II?

Mr. PUNTUS. I was on the Oder River front up until June 17, 1945, always looking for a possibility of escaping from the Russian labor army.

On June 17, 1945, I crossed at the Elbe River and joined with the American Army.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you in the labor forces of the Red army or were you in the fighting military units of the Red army?

Mr. PUNTUS. This army of 12,000 laborers which were held by the Russians in Danzig was incorporated into the Red army and given 3 or 4 days' training and then sent to the front as an initial assault unit or as the front-line forces. Of my group, practically everybody was killed at the front.

The Russians wanted these forced laborers to be deliberately killed at a front because they were of the younger type of laborers and too

many of them were very dissatisfied at the conditions under which they were compelled to live.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were most of the men who were pressed into the service, like you, for example, looking for the first opportunity to escape or desert?

Mr. PUNTUS. I could only speak for 2 or 3 of my fellow soldiers, because all of the troops which were pressed into the branch of the army where I was serving were forbidden to carry on a conversation between one another, and also, there was much suspicion within the ranks.

I did meet two Ukrainians who took me into their confidence and told me that they were looking for a means of escape. One of these men was successful in escaping. He was able to make a successful escape a little earlier than myself.

Mr. McTIGUE. After the war was over, you settled in Germany; is that correct?

Mr. PUNTUS. After I escaped from the Red army, I lived with the American Army for 1 month.

Mr. McTIGUE. When was that?

Mr. PUNTUS. In June of 1945.

After this time, I made a trip to France where I was put into a displaced-persons camp.

Mr. McTIGUE. You emigrated to the United States under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948?

Mr. PUNTUS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. When?

Mr. PUNTUS. The 5th day of September 1950 I entered the United States under the Displaced Persons Act.

Mr. McTIGUE. I have no further questions.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You are a Byelorussian, are you?

Mr. PUNTUS. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is referred to as White Russian?

Mr. PUNTUS. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is a separate nationality, is it not? Entirely different from Russia, with its own—

Mr. PUNTUS. Different literature, different characteristics. Everything is different.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. It is situated between Poland and Russia?

Mr. PUNTUS. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And how large a nation is the Byelorussian nation?

Mr. PUNTUS. Over 20 million people.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. It is not a Russian-speaking nation?

Mr. PUNTUS. The White Russian language is not a Russian language, but one of the Slavic languages.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Now, when the Russians came in, you were about 19 years old; is that right?

In 1939, how old were you? Let me rephrase that question.

How old were you in 1939?

Mr. PUNTUS. Nineteen, yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You said that you were ordered to teach Russian propaganda to the children.

Mr. PUNTUS. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Will you tell us how you got those orders and just what was told to you?

Mr. PUNTUS. I was sent to teach in this grade school by the school for teachers which I had graduated from.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Who told you to teach Communist propaganda to these children?

Mr. PUNTUS. Upon getting our teachers' papers and being sent to a school to teach, we were given printed instructions, instructing us as to the type of program we were to teach in the school.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. By whom were you given these instructions?

Mr. PUNTUS. The director of education in the territory where I was to teach.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Was he a party man?

Mr. PUNTUS. The director of the board of education who was a Communist official in that territory.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. So then your instructions as to what you should teach these children came from an official of the Communist Party, is that correct?

Mr. PUNTUS. He was not only the director of the board of education, but also the man who was responsible for detecting any anti-Bolshevik activities in a classroom, and was also keeping me under surveillance and watching myself and other teachers and making sure that they didn't teach any anti-Communist propaganda.

If anyone was unfortunate enough to be caught teaching any type of anti-Communist propaganda, the NKVD was immediately notified by this member of the board of education.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Immediately after the Communists came in, one of the first things they did after they came in was to take over the educational system by appointing a Communist security officer as the public instruction official; is that correct?

Mr. PUNTUS. That is correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What is the predominant religion of the Byelorussian people?

Mr. PUNTUS. Orthodox Catholic. Greek Orthodox.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were you given any instruction as to how to treat the religious education of these children?

Mr. PUNTUS. It was forbidden to teach religion in the schools because the Communists said it was the opium of the people.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were you given specific instructions to teach philosophy?

Mr. PUNTUS. I was not only given instructions not to teach religion, but also Communist posters were posted throughout the school building instructing the teachers that they were forbidden to teach any form of religion in schools.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. The Byelorussian people are, by nature, and by history, a very religious people, are they not?

Mr. PUNTUS. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Can you tell what effect, if any, this antireligious propaganda that you were ordered to teach had on these children?

Mr. PUNTUS. The children realized that they were not allowed to be taught religion in school, but in every home there was a small picture of Jesus or other saints, and despite the fact that teachers were forced to teach the children that there was no God, when the children got

home, they would tell their parents that they were taught to disbelieve in Christ and in Christianity, and then it would depend upon the character of the parent.

Some parents would continue to teach their children of Christianity, despite all Communist threats. Others who were of weaker character immediately removed these pictures. Of the people who began to continue to teach Christianity to their children, many of them were arrested and deported and massacred as a result of teaching Christianity to their children.

The children whose parents removed the pictures of Christian saints from their walls were made up to be heroes in their school or village because they had believed and they were convinced that there was no God.

The children of the people who believed in God were looked upon in disfavor by the teachers.

Children who were looked upon with favor, as a result of denying Christianity, received various favors such as better clothing or new clothing, shoes, candy, while the children whose parents believed in Christianity received the poorest of materials and poorest of foods.

I mean, they received only that which their mother made by her own hands, but would not receive anything at all from the Government as a result.

This is the type of material which the children that believed in Christianity wore, and this material was made by hand by their parents.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Do I understand right, that if a child or its parents showed an adaptability to the Communist propaganda, they would be rewarded by getting proper food and clothing from the Communist officials, but if they showed a resistance to the Communist propaganda, they would receive nothing except such things as were made by the parents themselves, such as crude clothing as this?

Mr. PUNTUS. That is right.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Can you tell us what steps, if any, were taken against the members of the clergy, themselves?

Mr. PUNTUS. All of the clergy in my town were deported, and no word has been heard of them since.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. How large a town was this?

Mr. PUNTUS. Approximately 900.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And how many members of the clergy were there?

Mr. PUNTUS. In my section, there was 1 church for 3 villages, and there was 1 priest. There was 1 priest and 2 assistants. There were 3, all told, 1 priest and 2 assistants.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And this practice that you have told us, did that take place in other villages in that neighborhood, also? Was that typical of the actions of the Communists?

Mr. PUNTUS. Yes, it was.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Now, after these members of the clergy were deported, did the population attempt to continue their religious services, and how did they do it?

Mr. PUNTUS. We were not allowed, of course, to carry on any type of religious service in church, and the people were under threat of death if they would try to congregate and carry on some type of religious meeting.

There were people like the very religious orthodox, Greek Orthodox people, and Baptist people who would, in their own way, carry on a small meeting among their own people and their own family, but if word of that small family prayer meeting was brought to the attention of the NKVD, the people would disappear immediately.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Would you say on the basis of your experiences there that the Communists, in an attempt to communize the people, gave great importance in, first, wiping out religion, and, second, trying to communize by political propaganda, the schoolchildren of tender age?

Mr. PUNTUS. That is correct, but in addition to utilizing anti-religious propaganda or Communist propaganda among the populace, it was also inserted into such school subjects as arithmetic, geography, history, et cetera.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Madden?

Mr. MADDEN. I am sorry I missed the first part of your testimony. How far from Moscow is this town where you lived?

Mr. PUNTUS. 900 kilometers.

Mr. MADDEN. Was that in the south of the U. S. S. R. or west or east?

Mr. PUNTUS. West.

Mr. MADDEN. How long was it that you lived under communism over there? How many years?

Mr. PUNTUS. Until 1941.

Mr. MADDEN. How many years in total?

Mr. PUNTUS. Twenty-one years.

Mr. MADDEN. Twenty-one years you lived under communism?

Mr. PUNTUS. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. Would you say that religion can exist under communism or that eventually religion will be wiped out completely?

Mr. PUNTUS. It is impossible for religion to exist in any country where communism has gained control.

Mr. MADDEN. It cannot exist?

Mr. PUNTUS. No.

Mr. MADDEN. That applies to all religions, Catholic, Protestant, Jewish?

Mr. PUNTUS. It is killed. All religion is wiped out, and if any religious freedom is given, it may be given to 2 or 3 special Communist agents who are trained to act as ministers for propaganda value only.

For example, when the Communists send a visiting religious delegation to a village, they are shown the church and that is all; for propaganda purposes only.

Mr. MADDEN. Did labor in your country ever have any organization—workingmen, labor?

Mr. PUNTUS. There is only one labor organization. There is only one organization in the Communist country, and that is the Communist Party alone.

Mr. MADDEN. They do not allow any labor unions or any groups among laboring people to work for their own welfare or advancement or better conditions?

Mr. PUNTUS. They only have small Communist committees that say they are interested in the workers' welfare, but this interest is for propaganda purposes only, and the working man in Byelorussia does not have any rights whatsoever.

Mr. MADDEN. In other words, these Communist committees are part of the government?

Mr. PUNTUS. That is right.

Mr. MADDEN. That is all.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Feighan?

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Witness, you mentioned that Russian Communist propaganda was injected into subjects like arithmetic.

I suppose the propaganda also told the children that the Russians invented arithmetic, geology, every known science and invented and improved every invention known to mankind. Is that about right?

Mr. PUNTUS. That is correct.

Mr. FEIGHAN. I have no further questions.

Mr. BUSBEY. Thank you very much for your testimony.

Is Professor Romman in the room?

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, before proceeding with this witness, I would like to point out that the witness, because he has close relatives who are still in Ukraine and other relatives who are elsewhere behind the Iron Curtain, asked that he be permitted to testify under a pseudonym.

He is afraid that if he testifies under his correct name that it may bring about reprisals to close relatives behind the Iron Curtain. As a consequence, if there are no objections, may I suggest that the witness proceed with his testimony under the name of Prof. Nicholas Romman?

Mr. BUSBEY. Without objection, he will be permitted to testify under that name.

Mr. McTIGUE. We do have the correct name, Mr. Chairman, and the data surrounding Professor Romman, in our files, and we are satisfied with the authenticity of the testimony which he is about to give.

Mr. BUSBEY. Will you stand and be sworn, please?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the whole truth, so help you God?

Mr. ROMMAN. I do.

Mr. McTIGUE. You are residing in Chicago, Ill., is that correct, Professor?

TESTIMONY OF PROF. NICHOLAS ROMMAN

Mr. ROMMAN. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you are employed here in Chicago?

Mr. ROMMAN. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where?

Mr. ROMMAN. Marshall Fields.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now, is it true that you were born in 1898 in the Ukraine?

Mr. ROMMAN. The Ukraine is right.

Mr. McTIGUE. That you were educated in the Ukraine?

Mr. ROMMAN. In Lwow.

Mr. McTIGUE. Following your graduation from the university in Lwow, did you teach in high school in Lwow?

Mr. ROMMAN. In high school in Lwow, yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you also work as a journalist, as a newspaperman?

Mr. ROMMAN. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you in Lwow at the time the Communists occupied that city?

Mr. ROMMAN. That is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. And eastern Poland?

Mr. ROMMAN. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. At the time the Communists occupied Lwow, were you a journalist?

Mr. ROMMAN. I was a journalist.

Mr. McTIGUE. That was in 1939, is that correct?

Mr. ROMMAN. That is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you were working there as a journalist?

Mr. ROMMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. Can you tell us something about what happened?

Mr. ROMMAN. The war in 1939 came on all of a sudden for the population. Nobody knew of the secret non-aggression pact between the Nazis and Russians. The aggression by Germany upon Poland caught the people unawares in 1939, and much of the Polish population was frightened when the first bombs fell, and the Ukrainian population took this as another opportunity to again start the Ukrainian fight for their independence.

While the Germans attacked Poland from one side, the Russians attacked Poland from the East, and in September 22, 1939, the Russian troops entered Lwow, while on the other side of Lwow stood the German forces, invader of Poland.

The very next day after the Russians arrived in Lwow, large changes were being made.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were there mass deportations, liquidations of the people—executions?

Mr. ROMMAN. All organizations and personal belongings of people were Sovietized or made the property of the Communist government.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you return to the teaching profession in Lwow after the Communists took over in 1939?

Mr. ROMMAN. After the Russians entered Lwow, I taught Ukrainian privately to many people, but it was not until 3 or 4 months later that the Communist government allowed me to teach in public, in a school.

Mr. McTIGUE. Why did you transfer from your job as a newspaperman to teaching school under the Communists? Was there any particular reason for it?

Mr. ROMMAN. As a journalist, I knew that once the Communists found that my profession was journalism, they would utilize my profession in their propaganda work, and to get away from any possibility of being compelled to do propaganda work for the Communists, I changed my profession to teacher.

Mr. McTIGUE. When you taught in the high school, then, under the Communists, were you told what you were going to teach the students by the Communists? Did you have to teach the party line?

Mr. ROMMAN. That is correct. The Communists gave me instructions as to what I was to teach in my courses.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you teach school continually under the Communist occupation, until the Germans occupied Lwow in 1941?

Mr. ROMMAN. I taught school for a period of about a month before the Germans came into Lwow, because I fled at that time after a fellow

teacher of mine told me that the Communists were preparing to arrest me.

Mr. McTIGUE. What year was that?

Mr. ROMMAN. 1941.

Mr. McTIGUE. While you were teaching school under the Communist regime in Lwow, were any of your colleagues—that is, your fellow teachers—arrested or deported? Were any of your students arrested or deported?

Mr. ROMMAN. In the school, where I taught, 4 or 5 of my fellow teachers were arrested, and along with their families, they were deported to some unknown place.

The Communist head of our school was responsible for the deportation of very many students, along with their families, and took an active part in many of the deportations, himself.

Mr. McTIGUE. Was the director of your school a Russian Communist?

Mr. ROMMAN. That is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. That is one who had been imported from Russia after the occupation of Lwow to direct the school activities?

Mr. ROMMAN. For approximately a month or so, the old Polish director of the school was left to act as director, until the Communist Party sent a Communist director to this school.

Mr. McTIGUE. And the school you are talking about now is the high school in Lwow, is that correct?

Mr. ROMMAN. That is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. After the Russians evacuated Lwow, and following the German occupation of Lwow, did you ever have occasion to search for some of your friends and relatives, and, if so, did you find them, or can you tell the committee what you did find?

Mr. ROMMAN. On June 29, 1941, the Russian troops left Lwow, and the day that these troops left, the people of Lwow rushed to the prisons of that town in search of many of their lost relatives.

My brother, a friend, and myself immediately went to one of the prisons to try to locate the fiancé of the friend, as well as her father.

While on my way to the prison, I saw 5 or 6 people that had staggered out of the prison after the Russians had left, and in the confusion were able to escape.

These people looked like starved skeletons of human beings.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you see bodies—

Mr. ROMMAN. Yes. The next day—

Mr. McTIGUE. Have you any estimate of many victims there were?

Mr. ROMMAN. The next day I went into the prison and in the cells I saw 4 or 5 heaps of bodies in each cell. While I was in the prison, I saw much charred evidence of letters and readable prison records in which I found many complaints against people who had assisted the Ukrainian underground.

Mr. McTIGUE. To your knowledge, then, there were a great many people who had been liquidated under the Communists in Lwow, and you saw these bodies which were dug up with your own eyes?

Mr. ROMMAN. In Lwow, with my own eyes, I saw more than 1,000 massacred people in 3 prisons. The newspapers in Lwow at that time began to write that there were at least 10,000 people massacred in Lwow by the Russians before they evacuated the town.

Mr. McTIGUE. That was the figure, 10,000?

Mr. ROMMAN. The newspapers in Lwow at that time put the figure at about 10,000 people massacred by the Russians before they evacuated Lwow.

Mr. McTIGUE. Following the German occupation of Lwow, did you leave Lwow and go to Germany?

Mr. ROMMAN. In 1942, I was taken as a forced laborer to Germany.

Mr. McTIGUE. After the conclusion of World War II, and upon your release from forced labor conditions in Germany, did you remain in Germany until you emigrated to the United States?

Mr. ROMMAN. That is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you emigrated to the United States in 1949, is that correct?

Mr. ROMMAN. That is correct. October 1949.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you emigrated under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, is that correct?

Mr. ROMMAN. That is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Machrowicz.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. The Ukrainian people are a separate nationality, with their own language, national characteristics and a nationalistic tendency of their own, is that correct?

Mr. ROMMAN. That is correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What is the prevalent religion there?

Mr. ROMMAN. It is approximately 80 percent Greek Orthodox; 20 percent Greek Catholic, with the West Ukraine being predominantly Greek Catholic; the Eastern part of Ukraine being predominantly Greek Orthodox.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What, if anything, did the Communists do to stifle the religious feelings of the people?

Mr. ROMMAN. In the schools, the teachers were required to teach that there was no existence of God or that Christianity was based on falsehoods.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Were you given those instructions as a teacher yourself?

Mr. ROMMAN. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And who gave you such instructions?

Mr. ROMMAN. The director of schools and the organizer of Communist Youth.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And he was the regular Communist government official.

Mr. ROMMAN. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. And what means did they use to enforce their instructions?

Mr. ROMMAN. The teachers were compelled to attend lectures and various training programs outlining the antireligious program they were to carry out, while Communist officials responsible for various youth organizations held lectures among youth to further promote the antireligious cause.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. What can you tell us, if anything, about the procedure used by the Communists to establish a spy system among the pupils, to spy upon each other, and upon the instructors? Was any such system used there?

Mr. ROMMAN. It was a very rare occasion that a student would take a teacher into his confidence, but on one occasion while teaching my

history class, one of my students told me that a fellow student of his informed the director of the school that I was not teaching history properly.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. In other words, it is true, is it not, that in every class spies were recruited from among the pupils who informed the political director as to what was going on in class, whether or not the teacher complied with instructions to teach communism and whether or not the students were accepting the Communist philosophy?

Mr. ROMMAN. Yes. One day one of my fellow teachers came to me and told me that he was no longer going to carry on any political conversation or jokes because he had been compelled to become a secret agent among the teachers. He had a sick wife and children, and they forced him to sit in the NKVD office for 5 hours and compelled him to agree to act as a secret agent among his fellow teachers.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. You mean they compelled him to do that against his own will?

Mr. ROMMAN. Yes. My fellow teacher told me that he was compelled to relate any incidents which may be detrimental to the Communist Party to the director of schools immediately.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Can you tell me what, if anything, the Communists did to the clergy to stifle religion?

Mr. ROMMAN. For a short while, the Russians allowed religion to exist, but I heard that the priests in the churches were compelled to attend various NKVD hearings.

The priests were called into the NKVD offices one by one and told that they were to report on their fellow priests of any incident which may be detrimental to the Communist Party.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. So they established a spy system even among the clergy?

Mr. ROMMAN. Yes.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. That is all.

Mr. ROMMAN. I would also wish to add that not only was a spy system inaugurated among teachers, but the students were compelled by the director of the school to attend Communist rallies at which no teacher was present, and at these rallies, the Communists would tell the students to keep their ears open and inform them of any statements made by the teachers which are against the Communist Party or against the Communist cause.

At these meetings, the youngsters were also told to spy on their parents, because then they would be rendering a very great service to the Communist Party and to their country.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Did you say also that they were told they should not listen to their parents, but to the Communists?

Mr. ROMMAN. That is correct.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Put that all in, so we will have it for the record.

Mr. ROMMAN. And I further add that the children were taught to disobey their parents and show more respect to the party than to their parents.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Feighan?

Mr. FEIGHAN. Professor, was there much passive resistance by the children to this new order?

Mr. ROMMAN. There was passive resistance by the children against this type of education, and it was only in the minority of the students that I found any Communist spy activity.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you feel that there is much possibility of the Russian Communists breaking the spirit of nationalism, the patriotic love of God and country, that fine spirit the Ukrainian people have had instilled in them through the centuries?

Mr. ROMMAN. In my opinion, it is impossible to break the religious and nationalistic spirit in the majority of the children, because I believe that it is in their blood to be religious, nationalistic, and God fearing.

I can prove this by an example—when the Germans took the youths from all over Ukraine and from Byelorussia to Germany to labor, all the young men and women came massed in church in Germany, and they said that they believed in God.

Mr. FEIGHAN. I am certain that you are correct in the statement that you just made, that the spirit of resistance and nationalism will never be broken in Byelorussia or the Ukraine.

Mr. BUSBEY. Any further questions? Thank you very much, Professor.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Pidhainy.

Mr. BUSBEY. The next witness is Mr. Pidhainy.

Will you stand and be sworn, please?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth and the whole truth, so help you God?

Mr. PIDHAINY. I do.

Mr. BUSBEY. Please give your name and address to the reporter for the record.

TESTIMONY OF SEMEN PIDHAINY

Mr. PIDHAINY. Semen Pidhainy, 381 Concord Avenue, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. McTigue, please proceed.

Mr. McTIGUE. You are residing in Toronto, Canada, at the present time; is that correct?

Mr. PIDHAINY. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. In what capacity are you employed?

Mr. PIDHAINY. I am a laborer at the Massey-Harris Co. in Toronto.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you emigrate to Toronto?

Mr. PIDHAINY. Five years ago.

Mr. McTIGUE. That was in what year?

Mr. PIDHAINY. September 4, 1949.

Mr. McTIGUE. You went in under the Canadian Displaced Persons Act; is that correct?

Mr. PIDHAINY. That is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you were in Germany, were you, when you emigrated to Canada?

Mr. PIDHAINY. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Pidhainy, are you the author of the book entitled "Islands of Death"?

Mr. PIDHAINY. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. When was that published?

Mr. PIDHAINY. 1953.

Mr. McTIGUE. And the book is the story of your personal experiences in a Communist labor camp—a slave labor camp; is that correct?

Mr. PIDHAINY. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. It tells of the brutalities and the terrible ordeals which you and others went through during these days of imprisonment; is that correct?

Mr. PIDHAINY. Yes, sir, that is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. I notice in the foreword, Mr. Pidhainy, that Igor Gouzenko, who as a Russian consular official in Canada who was one of the more important defectors from the Soviet Union in recent years, has this to say about your book:

Any knowledge of life in Soviet Russia can only be gleaned from the limited accounts published in the daily newspapers, or from those who are brave enough to write truthfully of their own experiences.

I feel privileged in writing this introduction to *Islands of Death*, because I truly believe that it is only through books such as this that the free people of the West will understand and appreciate the horror and menace of life under the Communists.

It must appear unbelievable that such a vast number of people would willingly submit to such conditions, but in this book you will read of the difficulty of avoiding a living death in the labor camps which are to be found throughout the U. S. S. R.

The worst of these camps have always been in the north, in or close to the Arctic Circle, and of these, the Solovky Islands Camp is known as one of the most horrible.

The Ukrainians have always resisted Soviet domination and because of this resistance, thousands upon thousands of them have been forcibly placed in labor camps to serve terms of 10 years or more. Under the conditions prevailing in these camps, a great percentage die and there is rarely an opportunity of any record being published to reveal the life they are forced to lead.

In this book, we have an exceptional account from a man now living in Canada, who, by his own efforts and courage, escaped from these horrors.

There is no doubt of the authenticity of this story, and the tragedy is, of course, that these conditions still exist today for hundreds of thousands of ordinary human beings in different parts of Russia and the countries which are occupied by the Communists.

We must fight this evil for the sake of humanity and I only hope that the message in this book will be taken to heart by every freedom-loving man and woman.

IGOR GOUZENKO.

This is what Mr. Gouzenko had to say about your book; is that correct?

Mr. PIDHAINY. That is right.

Mr. McTIGUE. And is it also true, Mr. Pidhainy, that you are the editor in chief for the book entitled "The Black Deeds of the Kremlin," a white book?

Mr. PIDHAINY. Yes, sir. I was editor in chief of that book.

Mr. McTIGUE. And the editorial board was composed of Professor Sandul and Professor Stepovy?

Mr. PIDHAINY. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. The introduction to this book was by Prof. G. W. Simpson.

Mr. PIDHAINY. That is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where is he located?

Mr. PIDHAINY. Saskatchewan University.

Mr. McTIGUE. And this is a book about the concentration camps and prisons and so-called justice in Communist Russia and the captive non-Russian nations over which communism now reigns; is that correct?

Mr. PIDHAINY. That is right.

Mr. McTIGUE. Can you tell us, Mr. Pidhainy, where and when you were born?

Mr. PIDHAINY. I was born on April 17, 1907, in Novominsk^{ka}, Kuban region, U. S. S. R.

Mr. McTIGUE. Do you have a statement that you wish to present to the committee here today?

Mr. PIDHAINY. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is the statement that you have in your hand now the one that was prepared and executed by you?

Mr. PIDHAINY. That is the statement that I have made.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is that statement in English?

Mr. PIDHAINY. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. Would you prefer, Mr. Witness, that the interpreter read the statement for you?

Mr. PIDHAINY. I would request that.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, may I suggest that the interpreter read the statement which the witness is introducing before this committee? The witness has already established that it is his statement and that it is a true and correct statement.

Mr. BUSBEY. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. ZABROSKY (the interpreter). The statement is as follows [reading]:

TORONTO, October 14, 1954.

Honorable Chairman KERSTEN,
Special Congress Commission,
Chicago, Ill.:

I, Semen Pidhainy, born April 17, 1907, in Stanitsa Novominsk^{ka}, Kuban region, U. S. S. R., and now living at 381 Concord Avenue, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, herewith declare the following:

1. I was persecuted for many years by the Communist Government in the U. S. S. R. I mentioned this in my short autobiography printed as part of my book, *Islands of Death*, which autobiography I declare to be true.

2. My testimony as to the terroristic and genocidal policies of the Government of the U. S. S. R. were published in the *Black Deeds of the Kremlin*, a white book, chapters Solowki Concentration Camp, pages 20-42 and *Portraits of Solowski Exiles*, pages 326-368. I declare herewith that all statements contained in the chapters are correct and true and that I am ready to defend their accuracy in any international court.

3. In my book, *Islands of Death*, which describes genocidal policies of the Government of the U. S. S. R., I have presented a true picture of the tragic situation of all enslaved nations in the U. S. S. R. I declare all facts and names of people and localities mentioned to correspond to truth and that I am willing and able to defend their accuracy in any international court.

4. As president of the Ukrainian Association of Victims of Russian Communist Terror, the SUZERO, as editor in chief of the *Black Deeds of Kremlin*, a white book, and as a person who has spent many years in the U. S. S. R. I declare that the statements by the authors, above 100 in number, are true and that the authors are ready to defend their accuracy in any international court.

5. In consideration of the above, I urge the commission to accept to their files of exhibits the above-mentioned books, *Black Deeds of Kremlin*, a white book, and *Islands of Death* as materials of documentary character. The authors have shown their willingness to testify, when they instructed the dominion executive of Ukrainian Association of Victims of Russian Communist Terror, the SUZERO, to send to Mr. Andrei Vishinsky a letter in connection with these matters, a copy of which is attached.

6. The Ukrainian Association of Victims of Russian Communist Terror, the SUZERO, collects systematically and has in its possession a great number of materials on the genocidal policies of the U. S. S. R., it has among its members and otherwise many persons willing to testify to the commission; on behalf of those individuals I greet the commission and state that we would be extremely pleased to see the commission in Canada.

Yours truly,

S. PIDHAINY, President.

The letter attached to the statement is as follows:

HON. ANDREI VISHINSKY,

Head of the Delegation of the U. S. S. R. to the U. N. O.

New York, U. S. A.

Mr. McTIGUE. What is the date of this letter?

Mr. ZABROSKY. It is a copy of the translation dated October 20, 1953, letter No. 331.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is this a registered letter?

Mr. ZABROSKY. It doesn't state. It reads:

DEAR SIR: The Ukrainian Association of Victims of Russian Communist Terror see fit to send you the first volume of Black Deeds of Kremlin, a white book, as an introductory chapter to the indictment concerning the criminal, genocidal actions of the Government of U. S. S. R. represented by you.

We, as former citizens of U. S. S. R., former workers and peasants of the Ukraine, victims of your terror and policy of genocide, send you the first volume of our book as the start of the indictment, but, we assure you, we will continue it in several volumes.

If you, or the Government of U. S. S. R., dare say that in this book, written with our blood, there is even a shade of any untruth, you have the right to accuse us and to let us be summoned to a court for libel on your government, but not to your Soviet "court," but a really democratic, really independent court, where we will confirm before all the world the reality of all crimes of genocide, committed by your government.

S. PIDHAINY, *President.*

I. SANDUL, *Secretary.*

Mr. BUSBEY. What was the date of that letter to Vishinsky?

Mr. ZABROSKY. October 20, 1953.

Mr. BUSBEY. When was Vishinsky ever "honorable"?

Aside from that, I think it is a good letter. Probably it should have been addressed to the Chief of Murder, Inc.

Mr. PIDHAINY. That is right.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you ever get an answer from Vishinsky?

Mr. PIDHAINY. No.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, I recall that this committee also sent a letter to Vishinsky inviting him to testify before this committee with respect to certain allegations which were made concerning his role in the takeover of Latvia.

The committee, to my knowledge, never received an answer.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Madden?

Mr. MADDEN. For the record, I might state that Congressman Machrowicz, as a member of the Katyn committee, a congressional investigating committee, which investigated the Katyn massacre, and I, as chairman of the Katyn massacre committee, sent several letters to Mr. Vishinsky, and also the Russian Embassy in Washington, and we belong to that list of members of Congressional committees who never received an answer from Mr. Vishinsky.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Pidhainy, you were born in 1907; is that correct?

Mr. PIDHAINY. That is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were 10 years old when the revolution broke out in Czarist Russia; is that correct?

Mr. PIDHAINY. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. Was your family wiped out or eliminated during the period of the revolution?

Mr. PIDHAINY. No. My father was shot to death in 1922, and the rest of my family was liquidated between 1922 and 1929.

Mr. McTIGUE. How many members of your immediate family, then, were killed?

Mr. PIDHAINY. My mother died after she was released from prison.

Mr. McTIGUE. By whom was she imprisoned; the Communists?

Mr. PIDHAINY. My mother was in a prison in Kuban where she was imprisoned by the Communists.

Mr. McTIGUE. Why was she imprisoned?

Mr. PIDHAINY. My mother was put in prison because my father was taking part in the insurgent movement in Kuban at that time.

Mr. McTIGUE. Against the Communists, against the Bolsheviks?

Mr. PIDHAINY. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. How many other members of your family were liquidated by the Communists?

Mr. PIDHAINY. There were four people in my family that were shot by the Communists.

Mr. McTIGUE. Who were they; brothers, sisters?

Mr. PIDHAINY. Two brothers, one sister, father, but my mother died after prison.

Four were shot to death; one died as a result of being in prison.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you brought up and educated in the Province of Kuban?

Mr. PIDHAINY. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you graduate from the high school in the university?

Mr. PIDHAINY. I finished the gymnasium in Kuban.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Gymnasium is high school, is it not?

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you also attend the University of Kiev?

Mr. PIDHAINY. Yes. I falsified my documents and entered the University of Kiev.

Mr. McTIGUE. Why did you have to falsify your documents at that time?

Mr. PIDHAINY. Because I had to hide the fact that my family was shot, that my family was executed.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you graduate from the University of Kiev?

Mr. PIDHAINY. In 1929.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you later also teach at the University of Kiev?

Mr. PIDHAINY. After that I taught in the University of Kharkiv. I was an assistant professor.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you teaching at the University of Kharkiv in 1933 when you were arrested by the Communist police?

Mr. PIDHAINY. I taught in the University of Kharkiv until I was arrested.

Mr. McTIGUE. Why were you arrested?

Mr. PIDHAINY. I was arrested because of my affiliation with the association of Kubans and Ukrainians which promoted the idea that with armed force we would throw off the Bolshevik regime of Ukraine—

Mr. McTIGUE. Following your arrest on the charges which you have just explained, were you brought to trial?

Mr. PIDHAINY. No.

Mr. McTIGUE. What happened?

Mr. PIDHAINY. Because if there is anything which is recognized as official to the Soviet Government, only then is due process of law allowed. I was tried by Moscow Collegium of OGPU.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where did that happen?

Mr. PIDHAINY. This was on August 8, 1933.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where?

Mr. PIDHAINY. In Moscow.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were tried in Moscow?

Mr. PIDHAINY. I was not there.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. He was tried in absentia.

Mr. McTIGUE. I see.

Mr. PIDHAINY. I only have the notice of my trial in my documents.

Mr. McTIGUE. What was your sentence?

Mr. PIDHAINY. Eight years.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you sent to serve your sentence?

Mr. PIDHAINY. Solovky Islands.

Mr. McTIGUE. And your sentence was for what term?

Mr. PIDHAINY. Eight years.

Mr. McTIGUE. In the preface to the book which is authored by the witness, entitled "Islands of Death," Mr. Watson Kirkconnell of Acadia University, Wolfville, Nova Scotia, has this to say:

In the lower reaches of the White Sea, in the latitude of Central Baffin Land, is a bleak little archipelago known as the Solovky or Solovetky Islands. Their isolation is absolute for most of the year, for from October until June they are cut off from the mainland by ice floes.

First colonized by monks in the 15th century, the area came under the rule of the Russian Czars. With Ivan the Terrible, the lonely monastery became a place of confinement for exceptional offenders, who moldered to death in black unventilated caves in its vast eastern wall. Abolished as a prison in 1905, the place of incarceration was restored in the early twenties by the Soviet Government and placed under the control of the OGPU.

Only one man has ever escaped from Solovky. With that daring exception, its Arctic ramparts have never lost a prisoner. Some of its victims have, however, been transferred elsewhere after serving their term on the island and have later managed to make their way to freedom. Among that number is S. O. Pidhainy, an innocent Ukrainian intellectual and author of the present book.

His story, told with simple veracity, reveals the existence in Soviet Russia of a system of slavery more vast, more brutal, and more inhuman than any that history has known in the past. Merely to have survived from years of such suffering speaks much for the vitality of this Ukrainian writer. Every Canadian and American should read his chronicle in order to see the fate that the Kremlin and its North American agents have planned for the free world that we still possess.

So it was on the island of Solovky that you served?

Mr. PIDHAINY. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, at this juncture may I suggest that the book entitled "Islands of Death," by S. O. Pidhainy, be incorporated by reference in the record and that it also be submitted into the committee record here marked for identification as exhibit No. 1, if there are no objections.

Mr. BUSHEY. Without objection, it will be so admitted.

Mr. McTIGUE. Might I also suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the book entitled "Black Deeds of the Kremlin, A White Book," of which the witness is editor in chief, be incorporated by reference into the record and marked for identification and admitted into the committee record there as exhibit No. 2?

Mr. BUSHEY. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Chairman, I heartily approve the book "Black Deeds of the Kremlin" being made a part of our record. I am very familiar with this book and I recommend it for the reading of everyone who is interested in preserving our free way of life.

I would like to draw your attention to the preface, which was written by the present witness, Mr. Pidhainy, in which it states in part as follows:

The authors contributing to this book have also provided the funds for its publication. Now working in Canadian industry, farming, and forestry, they have made generous gifts from their own savings in order to make the appearance of this book possible. A list of all those donating \$100 and more is given in the appendix.

And the appendix, page 545, gives a short list of the contributors who gave in excess of \$100. I notice that these contributors are men of different religious denomination, but I think that it is of extreme importance that we recognize the true spirit of the people who have contributed out of their own funds to make this book possible and bring to the free world a résumé, a report, on the atrocities, brutalities, genocide, and mass deportation practices engaged in by the Russian Communists who see the United States as the real roadblock to their schemes for world empire.

One could well imagine, unless we are alert, the United States and its citizens suffering the tortures that have been visited upon these wonderful people who have survived the terror and horrors of Russian Communist tyranny and have made their report in the book entitled "The Black Deeds of the Kremlin," a white book.

Mr. BUSHEY. I wish to thank the gentleman, Mr. Feighan, of Ohio, for his statement regarding the book, and I, too, heartily recommend the reading of the book. Everyone should be interested in reading it, and I hope that many people will do so during the next few years.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, since these books have been made a part of the committee's records, and particularly the book entitled "Islands of Death," which is an account of the witness' experiences in a slave labor camp, I am not going into the experiences suffered by the author, the terrible ordeal to which he was exposed, and the tragic and terrifying incidents that he witnessed as an inmate of that camp, because I think since the books have been admitted it would be repetitious.

I want to ask the witness this: In your judgment, to the best of your knowledge, if you have knowledge on the subject, how many slave labor camps are there in the Soviet colonial empire?

Mr. PIDHAINY. I can't say how many slave labor camps there are in the U. S. S. R. because in every village, town, and territory there is a different and multiple type of slave labor camp.

Mr. McTIGUE. Was the slave labor camp to which you have reference in your book in the Karelo-Finnish Republic?

Mr. PIDHAINY. The Solovetky Island constitutes one-eighth portion of the concentration of slave labor camp in the Karelo-Finnish Republic.

Mr. McTIGUE. The Karelo-Finnish Republic of the U. S. S. R.

Mr. PIDHAINY. Yes, of the U. S. S. R.

Mr. McTIGUE. Are there many slave labor camps, to your knowledge, in this Karelo-Finnish Republic of the U. S. S. R.?

Mr. PIDHAINY. The whole Finnish-Karelo Republic is one gigantic slave labor camp.

Mr. McTIGUE. One gigantic slave labor camp?

Mr. PIDHAINY. Yes.

Mr. PIDHAINY. Eight years and three weeks.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is this the only slave labor camp to which you were confined?

Mr. PIDHAINY. Yes.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Counsel, I wonder if you could advise the committee concerning the location of this one enormous slave labor camp in relation to Murmansk. How far is it from Murmansk, or some other large, comparatively large town?

Mr. PIDHAINY. From Leningrad, it will be approximately 700 miles, on the White Sea.

Mr. McTIGUE. How many inmates do you estimate were held in slave labor on the Karelo-Finnish Peninsula?

Mr. PIDHAINY. I think that in one White Sea camp there are no less than 200,000 prisoners in the camp.

Mr. McTIGUE. What are their nationalities, for the most part?

Mr. PIDHAINY. For the most part they are Ukrainians, Tartars, Uzbeks, Turkestans, Cossacks, Germans, Byelorussians.

I think that of these people from all these nations, 75 percent are not people from Russia.

Mr. McTIGUE. They are people from the non-Russian nations of the U. S. S. R., is that correct, like Byelorussia, Turkestan, Cossackia?

Mr. PIDHAINY. Twenty-five percent are Russian people. Seventy-five percent are non-Russian people.

Mr. McTIGUE. I see.

I have no further questions.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Feighan?

Mr. FEIGHAN. I just wanted to bring out the point that this Russian Communist conspiracy not only tortures and imprisons the non-Russian peoples, but even the Russians, ethnic Russians, who were born in Muscovy. No one in the world is exempt from this Communist treatment, whether it be mass murders, genocide, or just plain torture and cruelties.

Mr. PIDHAINY. Yes.

Mr. BUSBEY. And do you not agree, Mr. Feighan, that it was brought out in the testimony given the committee in Europe last summer that, when the Communists take over a country, invariably the people who are first liquidated are those who have helped the Communists to take over?

Mr. FEIGHAN. As soon as they have served their evil purpose, they are quickly disposed of.

Mr. BUSBEY. The Communists use them to get the country under their domination. As soon as that is accomplished the collaborators are among the first that they believe they must destroy. They do not trust even the people who were with them from the beginning.

Mr. PIDHAINY. I agree, also. That is right.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Madden.

Mr. MADDEN. You testified that you spent how many years in this slave labor camp?

Mr. PIDHAINY. Eight years and three weeks.

Mr. MADDEN. What kind of food did you get there?

Mr. PIDHAINY. It all depended—it was different, depending upon the amount of work which I produced.

Mr. MADDEN. What hours did you work?

Mr. PIDHAINY. From 12 to 16 each day.

Mr. MADDEN. Did you have any days off?

Mr. PIDHAINY. That happened once or twice, the 1st of May, and the 7th of November.

Mr. MADDEN. During the year, you would have 2 days off, the 1st of May and 7th of November?

Mr. PIDHAINY. That is right.

Mr. MADDEN. Now, what days are the 1st of May and the 7th of November? Why are they recognized?

Mr. PIDHAINY. The 1st of May is the International Workers Day.

Mr. MADDEN. What is the 7th of November?

Mr. PIDHAINY. The 7th of November is the date or the anniversary of the revolution, but I wish to add—but on these days we political prisoners were kept locked up.

Mr. MADDEN. In other words, you political prisoners did not get even 2 days a year off.

Mr. PIDHAINY. That is true.

Mr. MADDEN. Now, what happened to you or to a worker in a Russian prison camp if he became sick?

Mr. PIDHAINY. When a worker is sick, he is sent to the doctor's helper. The doctor asks, "Do you have hands? Do you have feet? If you have all of that, you have to return to work."

If a person cannot walk, they then send them to the ill group and in this ill group they are left to die.

I wanted to mention the type of illnesses from which many of the people die, but I cannot recall the name of the chief illness at this moment.

Mr. MADDEN. In other words, if a prisoner is unable to work, the Russian Government would rather see him die than be a load on the camp; that is, a nonproducer.

Mr. PIDHAINY. That is true.

Mr. MADDEN. Now, in this country, in years past, and even at the present time, there are Communist agitators as members of labor unions who try to tell members of labor unions what a great existence labor has under communism.

Can you make any statement regarding the truth of their statements to the American members of labor unions?

Mr. PIDHAINY. When I compare the status of the Soviet laborer, I think that his status is so heavy that it has never occurred in history before.

In the worst tyrannies of the past, there was never anything similar to what is going on in the Soviet Union today.

Mr. MADDEN. In other words, labor in the Soviet Union today is under constant tyranny, torture, and slavery?

Mr. PIDHAINY. That is very true.

Mr. MADDEN. What wages do they pay?

Mr. PIDHAINY. They pay them enough to keep the person alive enough to work.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Excuse me. Do you mean they paid the person who was not in a prison or slave labor camp?

Mr. MADDEN. They don't pay anything in the labor camps.

Mr. FEIGHAN. That is what I wanted to make the record clear on. You are talking about the person who is not in prison and is supposedly working for a living and may have a family.

Mr. PIDHAINY. That is right.

Mr. MADDEN. In other words, the man in prison, in the slave labor camps, gets nothing and the man who is fortunate enough to be outside of a slave labor camp merely gets enough to keep him alive and to clothe him.

Mr. PIDHAINY. That is right.

Mr. MADDEN. That is all.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Feighan, did you have any other questions?

Mr. FEIGHAN. One more.

Having had the opportunity to read both of these books, the "Islands of Death" and the "Black Deeds of the Kremlin," I assure you it was very gloomy and depressing reading, but I was strongly impressed by the fact that in spite of the fact that the inmates of these labor camps, regardless of their hard work and their ill treatment and torture and the inhumanities they suffered at the hands of the Russian Communists, they still had a spirit which enabled them even to compose songs and to sing songs to reflect their love of God and country and preserve their nationalistic spirit.

It is my hope that a real political offensive will be started by the people in the free world which will defeat this international, criminal, Russian Communist conspiracy and liberate those people enslaved behind the Iron Curtain, and create a new era of lasting peace with freedom and independence for all the enslaved nations, and the same for individuals.

Thank you.

Mr. PIDHAINY. I say that is very, very good.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Pidhainy, on behalf of the committee, I thank you not only for your testimony, but for making these books available to the committee. I note that you have left here personally autographed copies of the books for Congressman Kersten, the chairman of the full committee. We will be sure that he receives them when we start our hearings in Milwaukee at 10 o'clock on Thursday morning.

I wish to thank you personally for my books.

Mr. MADDEN. I want to extend my thanks for your autographed copies of these two books.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Likewise do I.

Mr. BUSBEY. Any further questions?

Mr. MCTIGUE. I have none, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. BUSBEY. Thank you very kindly, sir.

We will stand adjourned until 2 o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Talalas, you have been sworn before, and I believe you have some documents that you wish to turn over to the committee at this time.

TESTIMONY OF JONAS TALALAS—Resumed

Mr. TALALAS. Yes.

Mr. BUSBEY. If you will identify the documents the committee will be very happy to receive them at this time for a part of its records. Do you solemnly swear that any testimony you will give before this committee this afternoon will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. McTIGUE. Will you state your names?

Mr. BILDUSAS. I do, and my name is Vytantas Bildusas.

Mr. KEZELIS. I do, and my name is Algimantas Kezelis.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now, Mr. Talalas, it is my understanding that, as secretary of the Lithuanian-American Council, you are appearing here this afternoon following your testimony of yesterday, to present a series of statements which have been executed by various witnesses.

Mr. TALALAS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. This is testimony concerning the Communist occupation of Lithuania.

Mr. TALALAS. That is right.

Mr. McTIGUE. This series of statements which you are presenting to the committee here today run the gamut from the time of the illegal seizure of Lithuania by the Communists, to arrests, deportations, massacres, brutalities, and the phoney elections.

Mr. TALALAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now, the gentlemen who have just been sworn in by the chairman, Messrs. Jancius, Bildusas, and Kezelis, have translated the originals of the statements, copies of which you are presenting to the committee here today, from Lithuanian into English.

Mr. TALALAS. That is right.

Mr. McTIGUE. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that this series of statements which Mr. Talalas has presented to the committee be marked for identification and made a part of the committee record as exhibits NR 3 through NR 49.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. McTIGUE. Is it true, Mr. Jancius, that you have translated these records from the Lithuanian into English?

Mr. JANCIOUS. I have translated a number of the statements that are included in that.

Mr. McTIGUE. And is it true, Mr. Bildusas, that you have translated some of the statements which are a part of this group?

Mr. BILDUSAS. Yes, it is.

Mr. McTIGUE. From Lithuanian into English?

Mr. BILDUSAS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And is it true, Mr. Kezelis, that you translated into English, from Lithuanian, part of these statements which Mr. Talalas is presenting to the committee this afternoon?

Mr. KEZELIS. That is true.

Mr. McTIGUE. If there is no objection, Mr. Chairman, may these be marked for identification as suggested?

Mr. BUSBEY. Without objection, they will be so entered.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, so help you God?

TESTIMONY OF ANTHONY J. RUDIS

Mr. RUDIS. I do.

Mr. BUSBEY. Will you give the reporter your full name and address?

Mr. RUDIS. Anthony J. Rudis, 9339 South Oakley Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Mr. BUSBEY. I wish to state that Mr. Rudis is one of the most ardent fighters for independence for Lithuania that we have had in the entire United States. I am very proud of the fact that he is a personal friend, and that he is a neighbor of mine.

For many years, I have had the pleasure of working with Mr. Rudis and his associates in the movement for a free and independent Lithuania.

Mr. Rudis was one of the individuals who sparkplugged and spearheaded the efforts to secure passage of the resolution in Congress which provided for the creation of this committee under our very eminent chairman, Mr. Charles Kersten, of Wisconsin.

Mr. Rudis gave a statement entitled "Russia's Baltic Window on Europe" before the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations here in Chicago on September 22 of this year. I considered it so good and of such historic value that I asked him to appear before the committee and identify it as his document for the purpose of having it made a part of the record.

Before I do that, I think the record should show that Mr. Rudis is the president of the board of trustees of the Institute of Lithuanian Studies.

MR. RUDIS. That is right, Congressman.

MR. BUSBEY. You are also the alternate president of the Lithuanian American Council?

MR. RUDIS. That is right, Mr. Congressman.

MR. BUSBEY. I am sure that Mr. Rudis has the admiration of everyone who is in this fight for a free and independent Lithuania. I will hand you this document, Mr. Rudis, and ask if that is the statement you made before the Chicago council on September 22.

MR. RUDIS. Yes, Mr. Chairman, it is.

MR. BUSBEY. At this point it will be made a permanent part of the committee's record.

MR. MCTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, may I suggest that this be printed in the record as verbatim testimony, rather than being admitted as an exhibit?

MR. BUSBEY. That was my intention, Mr. Counsel. It will be in the record at this point as his testimony.

MR. RUDIS. The Chicago council is to be commended for their efforts to present overall world interest topics for discussion.

There are almost 1 million people in Chicago whose direct origin or ethnic origin is eastern European—this is the territory from the Baltic to the Black Seas (between Russia and Germany. From this group, the Baltic people in Chicago number 200,000. The problems of eastern Europe draw our close attention because it is there that the First and Second World Wars flamed up—to envelop the world, and where still the flame has not died.

The history of this part of Europe is most intriguing. It is here that a dividing line is formed between eastern and western civilizations. Not only did this territory form the ancient battlefields, but it has even become the present-day front. Today it is called the Iron Curtain. It has divided the world into two distinct camps—the eastern and the western worlds.

This evening I am going to deal with a small part of eastern Europe, but one that is very important and one on which people are seeking information. Because I will go into historical dates and quotations from treaties, I will necessarily have to adhere rather closely to my written text.

The three Baltic States of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, perhaps, are so-called because of their geographical location on the Baltic

Sea. The title to our discussion today is not a factual one or an existing condition; it was thus called by Molotov in September 1939 when the Russian Government informed the Lithuanian nation that it would be necessary for them to sign mutual assistance and nonaggression pacts.

When a country, too small to offer assistance, and too small and peaceful to commit an act of aggression, was approached by a big power such as the Soviet Union, their question was why a great power demanded this of the three comparatively small Baltic countries. Molotov's answer was that "Russia looked upon them as their Baltic window on Europe."

Through the years, Russia had demanded treaties and pacts from these small nations, promising "respect to each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity and inviolability." Yet the world knows what subsequently happened to these people, how the Red fire swept through their countries, consuming, scorching, and destroying human freedom and civilization, brazenly trampling on their own promises and agreements.

The time today is too short to present a whole composite picture, but I shall attempt to give you a clearer understanding of the Baltics, by going back several centuries and bringing you up to 1939—the date of the final treaty, and 1940, when an ultimatum was delivered and all power was openly taken over by the Soviet Union.

The three countries of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia are not new political formations. Their historical backgrounds differ somewhat from one another and as Lithuania is the largest, and figures more prominently in history, I will dwell more on this country. The Letts—Latvians as they are now called—and their close racial kin, the Lithuanians, occupied the Baltic region before written history began.

They are members of the Aryan stock. Phoenician and Roman coins found in their countries testify to their existence and contact with those periods. The Latvians and Estonians have always constituted a distinct national group, but they could not fight off aggression and in their early history were taken over and ruled by a succession of strong European powers—German and Swedish, before Russian imperialism enveloped them from about 1720 to the First World War, when they emerged as republics.

Latvia comprises 25,000 square miles, with a population of 1,900,000. The majority of the Letts are Protestant by religion. Estonia comprises 18,357 square miles, with a population of 1,126,400. Seventy-eight percent are Lutherans.

Ancient Phoenician, Greek, Roman, and Arab travelers and writers were the first to acquaint the world at large with the inhabitants of the southeastern shores of the Baltic Sea. The oldest designation for the inhabitants of this area, the Aistians, was first mentioned by Tacitus in the first century of the Christian era, and repeated by other writers until the end of the 10th century. Lithuanian historians and linguists identify their prehistoric ancestors as Aistians.

Today, the Lithuanian tongue, a member of the Indo-European family of languages, has the distinction of being one of the oldest living languages in Europe—the most akin to ancient Sanskrit. Its importance as an aid to the study of comparative philology is recognized by foreign scholars. Eighty percent of the population is Cath-

olic. It comprises an area of 26,500 square miles and a population of 2,400,000.

The Chronical, *Annales Quedlinburgenses*, of the year A. D. 1009 first mentions Litua—Lithuania. Nestor's Chronicle from the year 1056 to 1116 mentions Litva. Teutonic invaders referred to the inhabitants as Laeti or Leedu—the Estonian name for Lithuania. Since then, Lithuanians and their kinsmen have remained known to history.

The Teutonic Order mentions the resistance of the Lithuanians from 1215 to 1410, at the time they attempted to spread Christianity into that territory. But the Lithuanians felt that the aims of Teutonic Knights were political, and not Christian, and therefore, resisted strongly and became the last nation in Europe to embrace Christianity.

History tells us that the Lithuanians had formed an official state by the middle of the 13th century, when their king, Mindaugas, was crowned in 1253. Defensive wars against the Teutonic Orders encouraged the formation of the official state which at that time became known as the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

Wars with the Teutonic Knights lasted for 200 years. During this period, many small duchies and kingdoms, including Russian duchies, knowing of the tolerance of the Lithuanian rulers, sought protection from the Tartars, and came under the protectorate of Lithuania to ward off the onslaught and terror. So that in the beginning of the 15th century, about 1410, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania became a great power, stretching from the Baltic to the Black Seas, and as such, was successfully able to continue to ward off the political ambitions of its neighbors.

Thus, for a period of 500 years, Lithuania not only stopped Teutonic expansion into eastern Europe, but became known for its religious and racial tolerance to all people within its domain, Lithuanians, Russians, Ukrainians, and Poles.

The succession of rulers during this period, the Grand Dukes, gave asylum to the persecuted and oppressed people of other nations, permitting them extensive privileges. It is interesting to note that many Jewish people accepted this gesture and enjoying the privilege of racial and religious freedom, built one of their greatest religious institutions in Telsiai. Pre-Second World War, this institute, several hundred years old, was still world-renowned among the Jewish rabbis.

This fact is brought out, to contrast the condition in the neighboring countries, where despotic governments, subjugation of the people, suppression of human rights, and hatred of one nation against the other was rife. There are many documents today that testify to Lithuania's great tolerance, her benign protectorate that became so extensive because it was sought by outside nations, and not forced through conquest. And so we find that in the Middle Ages, Lithuania offered a free and democratic way of life to its people.

Lithuania's desire for a just code of laws resulted in the Statutes of Lithuania, published in 1529. It is important to note that this was the first code published in Europe since the time of Justin the Great. It was 15 years in the making. This code of laws was adopted by other eastern European countries and used up to the 19th century. The first known land census of Europe was accomplished by the Lithuanian state in 1528. Land reforms resulted from this.

This method of rule was admired and envied by other countries, so that marriage and territorial alliances were sought. These alliances,

time, and the liberal form of government, proved also to be the country's weakness and subsequent downfall. The autocratic governments surrounding Lithuania—Russia, Austro-Hungarian Empire, Prussia—planned invasions and seized Lithuanian territories. One invasion after another reduced the country, and Lithuania fell to Russia in 1795.

For 120 years, Lithuania suffered an exceedingly dark and dismal period. Freedom of speech and religion was banned. The people were serfs in the full sense of the word. For 40 years, even the press was denied them. Insurrection followed insurrection until the ban on the printed word was raised. The Lithuanian people, seeking to escape Russian tyranny, in great numbers abandoned their ancestral homeland and emigrated to America.

World War I released the Baltic countries from their bondage of over 120 years. All the great powers of the day, England, France, Italy, Japan, and the United States acknowledged Lithuania free and independent. In 1921 she was admitted to the League of Nations, and established diplomatic relations.

On July 12, 1920, Russia, acknowledging Lithuania's independence, signed a peace treaty which stated:

Proceeding from the right, proclaimed by the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, of all nations to be free and self-determined * * * Russia recognizes without reservation the sovereign rights and independence of the Lithuanian state, with all the juridical consequences arising from such recognition, voluntarily and for all time abandons all sovereign rights of Russia over the Lithuanian people and their territory. The fact of the past subjection of Lithuania to Russia does not impose on the Lithuanian Nation and its territory any obligations whatsoever toward Russia.

After 120 years of serfdom, Lithuania arose in her traditional and ancestral style. She reopened her schools and churches, built new universities; education became compulsory. Commercially, even greater progress was made. As an example, within a 10-year period, meat exports rose from 150 tons in 1923 to 21,376 tons in 1933; dairy products increased from 83 tons to 484,000 tons. Proportionally, her economy rose in other fields.

Russia's aims for territorial expansion, however, were not dormant. In 1926, she called for a nonaggression pact which read:

The Lithuanian Republic and Union of Socialist Soviet Republics undertake to respect in all circumstances each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity and inviolability.

Five years later she asked for a renewal. On July 5, 1933, Russia met in conference with Lithuania "for the definition of aggression." The second paragraph read:

Accordingly, the aggressor in an international conflict shall, subject to the agreements in force between the parties to the dispute, be considered to be that one which is the first to commit any of the following actions:

- 1. Declaration of war upon another state.
- 2. Invasion by its armed forces * * *.
- 3. Naval blockade of the coasts or ports.
- 4. Provision of support to armed bands formed in its territory or which have invaded the territory * * *.

Similar treaties of mutual security and nonaggression were signed with Latvia and Estonia in 1920, 1932, and 1939. One commercial treaty with Estonia, in particular, gave them a wide-open window for trade. It was extremely favorable for Russia—transit rights in ports were even granted.

The Baltic countries lived in peaceful and friendly coexistence with its neighbors, including Russia. Nevertheless, in a speech delivered at the 18th congress of the Communist Party, Stalin stated that under the existing political circumstances, the time was ripe "for reappraisal of existing international pledges and agreements." That same year, 1939, a map appeared, published by the Russian General Staff, showing Lithuanian territory as a component part of the Soviet Union. In addition to its military significance, this map shows that the attack on Lithuania by the Soviet Union was premeditated.

With the outbreak of World War II, Lithuania proclaimed her neutrality and did not succumb to German proposals to enter the war against Poland. The Soviet Union made the enticing offer to return her historic capital, Vilnius. This did not deceive the Government of Lithuania, which made every effort to avoid signing a mutual assistance pact, the terms of which included the garrisoning of Soviet troops on Lithuanian soil.

However, on October 10, 1939, Lithuania was forced to sign this pact, article 7 of which read:

This pact shall not affect to any extent the sovereign rights of the contracting parties * * *.

Yet, even this did not satisfy the Soviet Union, imbued with the idea of self-aggrandizement and communistic imperialism. Lithuania was stunned when, at midnight, June 14, 1940, an ultimatum was delivered demanding the access of unlimited troops and a government subservient to Moscow.

All political power was openly taken over by the Soviet Union, and on August 3, 1940, Lithuania was declared to be a part of the Soviet Union. These countries were enslaved by Moscow through friendly treaties, which the Russians had no intentions of keeping at the time they were made. When the October 10, 1939, treaty was signed with Lithuania, Russia had already signed the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact in August of that year, by which pact the Soviet Union and Germany had assigned and divided amongst themselves Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Poland. The Kersten committee discovered the original map on this.

We can only understand Russia's deceitful presentation of this process, at which they are experienced masters, when we know the Communist propaganda always transforms acts of violence and aggression into impressive acts of liberation. The Soviet Union is interested in conducting matters so that a conflict can take place so that it would be possible to carry out Stalin's oath given at the grave of Lenin:

We swear to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will not spare our lives in the strengthening and extension of the Communist International (History of the Communist Party in U. S. S. R., 1928).

The Soviet occupation is illegal and is not recognized by the United States. On April 29, 1954, Senator Douglas (Illinois) introduced a resolution into the Senate, reaffirming the official stand taken by Presi-

the Baltic States as unlawful. This resolution passed unanimously in the Senate.

The United Nations has agreed that the only hope for avoiding war is the signing of the international treaties; however, the Russians believe that changing times invalidate existing obligations—hence their peace treaties and signed pacts are worthless, as they drive on seeking new windows to world domination.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is Mr. Daniels in the room?

Before proceeding, may I say that the next witness, because he has relatives behind the Iron Curtain in Lithuania, asks that he be permitted to testify under a pseudonym.

May I suggest that he be permitted to testify under the name of Mr. John Daniels?

Mr. BUSBEY. You have taken the usual precautionary measures on identification for the committee's records, I assume?

Mr. McTIGUE. I have, Mr. Chairman. We know the true identity of this witness and the facts surrounding his hesitation to testify under his true name.

Mr. BUSBEY. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, so help you God?

TESTIMONY OF JOHN DANIELS

Mr. DANIELS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Are you residing here in Chicago, Mr. Daniels?

Mr. DANIELS. Yes, for 5 years.

Mr. McTIGUE. Are you employed here in Chicago?

Mr. DANIELS. Yes; I am employed in Chicago.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is there any reason why you should not tell us where you are employed?

Mr. DANIELS. Midwest Transfer Co.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were born in Lithuania, is that correct?

Mr. DANIELS. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. In 1934 you graduated from the College of Economics in Vilnius?

Mr. DANIELS. That is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is it true that you were employed by a large chain of stores in Lithuania following your graduation from college?

Mr. DANIELS. That is right.

Mr. McTIGUE. What were you employed as?

Mr. DANIELS. I did work in the purchasing department.

Mr. McTIGUE. When the Communists forcibly took over Lithuania in June of 1940, were you working in Lithuania at that time?

Mr. DANIELS. Yes, I was.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is that the time you were employed as an accountant in this large chain of stores?

Mr. DANIELS. That is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. Can you tell us something about what happened as far as the economic system of Lithuania was concerned, after the Communists seized the country illegally in 1940?

Mr. DANIELS. Maybe better I have here my statement. It is not long. Maybe Mr. Jancius can read it, then I can answer questions.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, the witness has asked that the committee permit him to read a statement into the record which he has in his possession at the moment.

May I suggest if there are no objections that he be permitted to proceed with the statement and that the interpreter, Mr. Jancius, be permitted to read the statement for the witness?

Now, Mr. Witness, is the statement which Mr. Jancius has in his hand and is ready to present to the committee the statement which was prepared and executed by you?

Mr. DANIELS. By me, yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. If there is no objection, may that be done?

Mr. BUSBEY. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DANIELS. I was employed by the Kaunas Consumers Corp. while Lithuania was free. I was graduated from Vilnius University in economics.

Lithuania is primarily an agricultural country. Her foreign trade was well developed. Major exports were farm products and timber. The major markets were Great Britain and Germany, and most other European countries. Some items, such as dried mushrooms, honey, hams, and other products were exported to the United States.

The imports into Lithuania came from various countries, raw materials for industry and many finished products such as textiles, iron and iron products, construction materials, coal, naphtha, agricultural machinery, automobiles, chemicals, fruits, spices, paper products, watches, and many others.

In other words, Lithuania's economy was based on export-import under government supervision. Lithuania's entire economy was founded on private enterprise.

When the Soviet Union occupied Lithuania on June 15, 1940, the Soviets immediately banned all foreign trade. The customs warehouses were full of merchandise, which the Soviets immediately blocked and only after long negotiations agreed to release only those things which were essential, although all of the merchandise was absolutely necessary for everyday consumption by the inhabitants.

The people swarmed to the stores right after Lithuania was occupied—they bought up all the essentials in sight, such as textile goods, underwear, footwear, and other imported merchandise. Prices began to skyrocket immediately. Store owners themselves slowed down the selling of their better merchandise. Anyone who had money tried to get rid of it by buying needed things. Inflation set in immediately after the Soviet Union occupied Lithuania.

On June 17, 1940, the occupants limited the withdrawal of savings from bank deposits to not more than 250 litai per week. On June 25, 1940, the puppet government's Minister of Finance published an order calling in all the foreign currency held in Lithuania and demanding that the residents register all their holdings abroad with the puppet regime.

On July 26, 1940, the order was published for the nationalization of all industrial concerns. On August 8, 1940, the Minister of Finance published an order for all holders of stocks and obligations to turn them in to the Bank of Lithuania by August 14.

By order of the Minister of Finance of June 22, 1940, all private commercial transactions with foreign concerns were banned.

The puppet Ministry of Commerce was established on July 29, 1940.

The Foreign Trade Department of the Ministry of Finance was liquidated on August 24, 1940, and its files and archives were transferred to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade of the Soviet

Union, by way of its representative attached to the puppet government of the Lithuanian Soviet Republic.

On September 27, 1940, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Republic issued an order for the private commercial network to cease activities in order to carry out the order of the Soviet Commissars of the same date.

The order of the People's Commissar of Commerce dated September 29, 1940, took control of their enterprises from the actual owners and appropriated their bank accounts. Then followed the absorption of Lithuanian cooperatives into the Soviet commercial system. On August 25, 1940, the Soviets carried out the nationalization of homes of 200 square meters of useful space.

By decision of the Lithuanian Soviet of Commissars of October 10, 1940, the Bank of Lithuania was reorganized into the Soviet Union State Bank Office of the Lithuanian Republic, and the branches of the Bank of Lithuania into branches of the Soviet Union State Bank.

Nationalization of hotels, drug stores, drug warehouses and chemical-pharmaceutical establishments was published on October 28, 1940.

The employees' pension and aid fund was nationalized by decision of the Soviet of Commissars on November 4, 1940.

On November 25, 1940, the ruble was recognized as legal tender alongside the litas, the rate of exchange one litas equal to 90 kopeka.

As I said earlier, the occupants limited the withdrawals from savings accounts in the banks, later ordering all savings accounts to be transferred to a single savings account bank where later each depositor was left 1,000 rubles to his credit while everything in excess was appropriated by the state.

This edict affected me because I had not been able to withdraw my savings from the bank before this order was published. All private automobiles were also appropriated from their owners without any compensation. These expropriations affected practically every inhabitant. Substantial property owners were labeled capitalists-exploiters, and the new laws and orders issued for such persons severely curtailed their civil rights.

The only source of income became that of employment somewhere, but former owners found almost all doors closed to them, while the more substantial citizens who had been deprived of their properties were ordered to leave the limits of the cities in which they had resided, leaving behind even their furniture and other personal property.

Organization of a Ministry of Commerce was organized on July 29, 1940. The first duty of the new Ministry of Commerce was the preparation and enactment of nationalization-expropriation of all the commercial concerns in the country.

Each of the new employees of the Ministry of Commerce was given a detailed questionnaire to fill out. Among the questions were such as these:

1. To which political party did you belong?
2. Did you belong to the Šauliu Sajunga (national guard) and if so, in what capacity?
3. Did you ever serve in the army, and if so, what was your rank?
4. Are you a philatelist?
5. Were you ever abroad, if so when, for what purpose, and how long did you stay abroad?

6. Do you have any relatives or acquaintances living abroad, and do you correspond with them?

And many other questions. It became plain later that the occupants decided the loyalty to the new system of the employees by their answers, since they considered philatelists, those who had traveled abroad, and those who had and corresponded with relatives and friends abroad as spies and they were usually at the top of the list of persons marked for deportation to Siberia.

After the People's Diet voted to join the Soviet Union, all of the ministries were renamed commissariats, and the ministers became commissars.

All instructions and directives came from Commissariat of Commerce in Moscow and the local Communist Party. Vice Commissar Sharov of the Moscow Commissariat of Commerce was placed in direct charge. Sharov came to Lithuania many times, and direct telephone contact was maintained with him in Moscow on all matters. At the same time, a group of officials was sent in from Moscow, and they made all decisions locally. Gurov was sent from Moscow to serve as Vice Commissar.

A secret commissariat order planned the nationalization of all wholesale businesses, all shareholding corporations, and those commercial establishments doing an annual business of 150,000 litai or more. An order was issued to make up a list of such enterprises and the tax bureau was told to furnish a list of business concerns showing their annual revenues. County agents—commissars of the Commissariat of Commerce—were appointed.

A commissar was also appointed for each commercial establishment which was to be nationalized. It was their duty to supervise the business, leaving the owners to work as ordinary employees until the nationalization, at which time all the former owners were dismissed.

The tax lists showed not many establishments doing an annual business in excess of 150,000 litai—one dollar equals six litai. A three-man commission was made up of bookkeepers of commercial establishments. Their assignment was to examine the tax lists and decide which businesses were to be placed on the last of those to be nationalized. In accordance with its instructions, this commission assigned a great number of concerns to this group.

After drawing up the list of concerns to be nationalized, instructions were issued, an appropriate number of inspectors-agents were mobilized, and the Commissars Soviet published the nationalization act which went into effect in all of Lithuania on September 27, 1940.

Quite a few smaller business concerns were not nationalized in the first stages, but supplementary lists were later made up and they, too, were nationalized, so that whoever did not manage to liquidate his business establishment lost it by Soviet nationalization.

The nationalized retail business concerns were transferred to state stores and cooperatives in Kaunas, Vilnius, Siauliai, and Panevezys. In all other cities and towns they were transferred to the local cooperatives.

Wholesale business concerns were grouped according to their wares into several classifications, just as they are in the Soviet Union, and head officers for these groups were sent in from the Soviet Union. In addition, there were special classes of businesses, such as army

commerce, NKVD commerce, railroad employee commerce, where the merchandise was sold only to employees of these agencies having special permits to shop in these stores.

After the nationalization, there was formed a Commissariat of Commerce on the pattern of the one in the Soviet Union. Its divisions:

1. Department of industrial goods.
2. Department of food products.
3. Department of restaurants and cafes.
4. Department of pricing.
5. Department of finances.
6. Department of cadres (employment).
7. Special department.
8. Office.

A rise in prices followed immediately after the nationalization.

A short time later there was another rise in prices. The prices for industrial goods were then equal to the prices prevalent in the Soviet Union, while food prices were temporarily left lower than those in the Soviet Union.

A few examples of what the price rises meant: shoes in independent Lithuania had cost from 20 to 30 litai per pair—they now cost 250 rubles a pair; a man's suit formerly cost from 130 to 300 litai, while the new price became 800 to 1,500 rubles, and the same for coats; Swiss watches worth 40 to 100 litai in independent Lithuania cost from 600 to 1,200 rubles under the Soviets; women's silk stockings, formerly 1 to 2½ litai a pair now cost 10 to 12 rubles.

When the prices were raised so suddenly, the Lithuanian people were unable to buy much from their wages, and everyone watched his money to see that it was sufficient for food. Buying slowed down to a trickle in the stores.

White-collar workers and laborers generally were receiving the same rate of pay as previously, and very few persons received higher wages. Besides, every employed person had to "voluntarily" buy Soviet Union internal loan bonds in the amount of 1 month's wages.

When the ruble was made official legal tender beside the litai on November 25, 1940, various officials and travelers from the Soviet Union swarmed into the stores in Lithuania, buying up everything in sight, and sent or took their purchases to their families in the Soviet Union, where they did not have such merchandise in their stores. These visitors from the Soviet Union called Lithuania "Little America."

Disregarding the agreements made with independent Lithuania, when exports abroad were stopped, the export products such as butter, eggs, meat products, and others were shipped to the Soviet Union.

The stockpile of industrial goods began falling off because the importation from other countries had been stopped and the industries had to be content with only locally manufactured products. The assortment of goods became very small because the factories did not have great supplies of raw materials on hand.

In the fall of 1940, Lithuania received from the Soviet Union a shipment of various alcoholic beverages, toys, cosmetics, apples, and watermelons. The people spoke of seeing traces of lettering on the watermelon-loaded cars, which said, "For starving Lithuania."

In the Commissariat, we had to make up a commerce program for the entire year beginning January 1, 1941—that is, to set the quantity and nature of merchandise which would be necessary during the year for the people, just as this system is practiced in the Soviet Union. Regardless of all the instructions and directives, we were unable to make up such a plan. It seemed, however, that Latvia and Estonia were also unable to formulate such plans.

Because of this there was sent to Lithuania a brigade of specialists from the Moscow Commissariat of Commerce in February of 1941. This group made up a plan for us. According to instructions, industrial goods were classified as:

1. Planned goods.
2. Regulated goods.
3. Free goods.

In addition, there is one other group of goods called "political goods," such as matches, kerosene for light, salt—perhaps there are more. There must never be a shortage in these goods. In making up the commercial plan, we had not paid particular attention to this group of wares. In the spring of 1941, we received an irate communication from the Communist Party stating that there had been a shortage of matches in one city, I believe it was in Rokiskis.

At the same time, a telegram was received regarding the same matter from the Moscow Commercial Commissariat, demanding that the shortage be taken care of at once and an explanation as to why it had occurred. It was notified us that supplementary shipment of 5,000 boxes of matches was being sent from Estonia, but these matches took a long time in arriving.

Since provincial towns were taken care of by the cooperatives, we immediately urged the cooperative center to rush the matches, and in addition, issued about 5,000 lighters and about 100 pounds of lighter flints from the stocks in our warehouses.

In making up the plan for essential goods, we had to concern ourselves only with the private consumers, making no plans for the army, NKVD, and other similar organization people, although they freely bought anything they wanted in the stores.

All instructions and directives came from Moscow and were carried out under the supervision of Soviet agents. However, all was not as simple as that because each commissariat employee was spied upon by secret agents who, in turn, were also spied upon. The NKVD tried to and did employ these spy recruits from among employees, thus we know that we were always spied upon and followed so that there would be no chance for sabotage.

An example of this was the imprisonment of the commercial commissar himself and the heads of several divisions of the Commissariat of Commerce in Latvia in the beginning of 1941, for improper carrying out of orders and instructions. After several misunderstandings over such matters as the shortage of matches, I went to Vice Commissar Gurov and requested to be dismissed. He replied to me, "With us, employees are not dismissed from their jobs, but fired." When I asked how I was to understand this, he said, "Well, when you will no longer be necessary to us, we will fire you and there won't be any news or even a breath left of you, but now you are still necessary to us."

Mr. McTIGUE. Your statement that you have just given, Mr. Daniels, is expert testimony, isn't it, concerning the prices, the economic condition in which the Communists left the country shortly after its occupation, and you are able to give this kind of testimony not only because you were an eyewitness, but because of your background, your training and experience.

You were at one time the director of the pricing and purchasing department of this large chain store system in Lithuania, is that correct?

Mr. DANIELS. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you were employed in the new Ministry of Commerce, I think you said—in the new Communist Ministry of Commerce?

Mr. DANIELS. That is right.

Mr. McTIGUE. In what capacity were you employed in the Communist Ministry of Commerce?

Mr. DANIELS. In the division of industrial goods. I was employed in the division of industrial goods.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you the deputy director or the director of this division?

Mr. JUNCIOUS. The witness doesn't wish to testify on that question. He feels that that will be harmful to him, could lead to his identification.

Mr. McTIGUE. As a consequence of your experience in Lithuania prior to the time that the Communists took over and by virtue of your position in the Ministry of Commerce, you are in a position to qualify as an expert on prices and the economic system of the country and to give the kind of testimony you have given before this committee today. That is correct, isn't it?

Mr. DANIELS. That is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. How long did you stay on in the Communist Ministry of Commerce?

Mr. DANIELS. I worked until the Germans came. Even after the Germans came, I worked for about a year and a half in the same position.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you told by the Communists when they took over Lithuania where you were to work? Were you assigned to this position in the Ministry of Commerce?

Mr. DANIELS. They informed me that I must come to see them and work for them.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you leave Lithuania?

Mr. DANIELS. In 1944, July 31.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you go to Germany?

Mr. DANIELS. To Germany, and I was in Germany about 5 years.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you eventually emigrate to the United States? When did you do that?

Mr. DANIELS. June 1949—June 24.

Mr. BUSBEY. Thank you very much, Mr. Daniels.

Will you stand and be sworn, please

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

TESTIMONY OF ANTANAS KLEVAS

Mr. KLEVAS. I do.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Counsel?

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Chairman, this witness who is testifying under the pseudonym of Antanas Klevas has asked that he be permitted to use this name because he has close relatives who are living at the moment in Lithuania, and he is afraid of reprisals against them if his identity is known and his testimony published.

As a consequence, might I suggest if there are no objections, that he be permitted to proceed under the pseudonym of Antanas Klevas?

Mr. BUSBEY. Without objection, it will be so ordered.

Mr. McTIGUE. Are you a resident of Chicago?

Mr. KLEVAS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Are you employed in Chicago at the present time?

Mr. KLEVAS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. In what capacity?

Mr. KLEVAS. Chemist.

Mr. McTIGUE. Are you a graduate chemist?

Mr. KLEVAS. No. Agriculturist.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is it true that you were born in 1909 in Lithuania and in 1935 you graduated from one of the leading agricultural academies in Lithuania?

Mr. KLEVAS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you eventually receive a doctor's degree in agriculture?

Mr. KLEVAS. Yes, in Germany.

Mr. McTIGUE. When?

Mr. KLEVAS. 1947.

Mr. McTIGUE. At that time, were you in a displaced persons camp in Germany?

Mr. KLEVAS. That is right.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you leave Lithuania?

Mr. KLEVAS. 1944; October 10.

Mr. McTIGUE. After the Communists started to drive again toward Lithuania?

Mr. KLEVAS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you were in Germany then from 1944 to 1949?

Mr. KLEVAS. 1949.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you emigrate to the United States?

Mr. KLEVAS. 1949.

Mr. McTIGUE. Since you have a doctor's degree in agriculture—since you can qualify in almost every respect as an expert, can you tell us something about the land reforms that were put into effect by the Communists after they seized Lithuania?

Mr. KLEVAS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Can you tell us something about that?

What did they do with the land?

Mr. KLEVAS. I will say something briefly about that.

When Lithuania regained its independence, the Lithuanian Government made a wide land reform which affected 60 percent of the entire land of the Republic. This land reform was the first such reform in the Old World.

More than 3 million acres of land were divided up among new owners and people who had very small plots of land previously—city dwellers and organizations.

The effects of this reform were very great. Much of the poor and impoverished landowners disappeared, and the agricultural production of the entire land grew in great strides.

Mr. JUNCUS. Now, he wants to make a comparison with the Communists.

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Witness, you state now that you want to compare this situation before the Communists took over and after they took over?

Mr. JUNCUS. Yes, that is what he would like to do.

Mr. McTIGUE. Are you going to read from the statement that you have in front of you?

Mr. KLEVAS. Just what we have in the regional. It is larger—

Mr. McTIGUE. I understand that, but the interpreter has been sworn in, and it seems to me, Mr. Chairman, rather than having it read by the witness in Lithuanian, if the witness here will now state that this statement which is in front of him is his statement and is in reply to my question—if we can have that read by the interpreter, we will save time, it seems to me.

Mr. BUSBEY. I think it is a very good idea.

May I ask if that has been translated?

Mr. JUNCUS. As far as I know, this has not been translated.

Mr. McTIGUE. Then, Mr. Interpreter, will you read from the Lithuanian into the English, that part of the testimony to which the witness had reference in reply to the question that I just asked?

Mr. JUNCUS. During the first days of occupation the Communists had to consider the 80 percent of the inhabitants of the land were farmers, and they had in some way to try to gain their sympathies. The Communists appointed Minister of Agriculture Mickis, who was appointed on June 25, 1940.

He spoke thusly:

Farmers, know and believe that the Lithuanian People's Government will not disappoint you. Each farmer who must live from the land and does not use the land is an object of speculation. We guarantee that this land will not be touched. This land of yours which has soaked up your blood and sweat will remain yours. There will be no changes made that will affect your holdings.

On July 7, the director of the land reform, Elzbergi, speaking at a conference of the surveyors of Vilnius region, made the following announcement about the new law of land reform:

Since that statement of Elzbergi's was not approved by Moscow, then the following day the Minister of Agriculture announced that the statement by Elzbergi was something he had thought up himself and was provocative.

The following day the newspaper of Vilnius announced that Director of Land Reform Elzbergi was released from his position.

After this, the farmers were again publicly mollified in another newspaper. Later, Moscow announced that not more than 30 hectares of land would be—that each farmer would not be allowed to keep more than 30 hectares of land. A few weeks later, the Minister of Agriculture Mickis announced in a meeting of the People's Diet:

We must immediately announce the nationalization of all Lithuanian land, all of its forests and rivers as belonging to the entire nation.

At the same time, he promulgated the nationalization decree of the People's Diet; because this land reform was only a temporary propaganda trick of the Communists, it was carried out very rapidly and primitively. Lands were measured by eye and with the aid of ropes, or by pacing it off.

The land was measured by a committee of Communists or Communist sympathizers.

New owners were not permitted to build barns or other buildings on their land. They were made to live with the former owners.

This showed that this reform was only a temporary affair. During a conference of agronomists in 1941, the new Director of Land Reform, Zukaskas, in a secret session announced: "This land reform is only a temporary affair. And later all the Lithuanian farms will be forced to live in kolkhozes."

Mr. McTIGUE. So, the land reform of the Communists was merely the nationalization of agriculture; isn't that correct?

Mr. KLEVAS. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Klevas, for your testimony on that phase of the economy of Lithuania before and after the Communists took over.

At this point I wish to read into the record a telegram which the committee has received from Senator Paul H. Douglas from Illinois. The telegram was received here in this room a few minutes ago.

It reads as follows:

CHICAGO, ILL., October 19, 1954.

HON. FRED BUSHEY,

*Special Committee on Communist Aggression,
9144 South Hoyne Street, Chicago, Ill.:*

Repeating my telegram of earlier today to correct errors which occurred in typing: Please insert the corrected copy in your committee record.

The evidence your committee is developing of the illegality and brutality of Soviet Communist aggression in Eastern Europe should shock the conscience of the entire world. It is my earnest hope that when the investigations are concluded, the Congress will be one in supporting the most vigorous diplomatic condemnation of the brutal seizures of entire national territories and the inhuman treatment and mass murders of once free peoples. Your committee has my support in its investigations of the atrocities in Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Eastern Germany, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and the Ukraine. I succeeded in passing Senate Resolution 241 this year which puts the Senate on record condemning these atrocities and brutal conquests, but I welcome any further recommendations for action to strengthen the free world position in the United Nations and elsewhere. I hope very much that the House will be induced to take similar action on the like resolution introduced by Congressman Thomas Gordon, of Illinois.

We must work for the liberation of these great countries from the Communist tyranny, and keep before the world the truly atrocious nature of Communist aggression and policies toward the millions of enslaved peoples. Your bipartisan committee is performing a most valuable world service in that respect.

Faithfully,

PAUL H. DOUGLAS.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Chairman, I want to express my appreciation for the telegram from the distinguished Senator from the great State of Illinois. And I am sure that both you and I and the entire committee are very glad for his support in the work in which we are engaged.

But I would like to add that it is extremely important that the entire free world, as well as the United States, become cognizant of the fact

that not only the nations that were mentioned in that telegram, but the other non-Russian nations within the U. S. S. R., who were, along with Ukraine, such as Byelorussia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, the first victims of the Russian Communist aggression, should also be included in any overall picture for freedom and liberation.

Mr. BUSBEY. I think that the gentleman from Ohio is absolutely correct. The Committee thanks him for his contribution. May I say for the record that I concur in his recommendation 100 percent.

Mr. McTIGUE. The next witness, Mr. Chairman, is Prof. Nicholas Prochik. Before the witness is sworn, he has advised the committee that he desires to testify under the pseudonym of Nicholas Prochik, because he is fearful that his testimony here today may bring about reprisals in regard to his loved ones who are in the Ukraine at the present time. And he has other relatives behind the Iron Curtain. I suggest that he be permitted to testify, withholding his true identity and under the pseudonym of Prof. Nicholas Prochik.

Mr. BUSBEY. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give the committee will be the truth, so help you God?

Mr. PROCHIK. I do.

TESTIMONY OF PROF. NICHOLAS PROCHIK

Mr. McTIGUE. Your name, Mr. Witness, for the record is Prof. Nicholas Prochik?

Mr. PROCHIK. That is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you are residing in Chicago?

Mr. PROCHIK. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Are you employed in Chicago at the present time?

Mr. PROCHIK. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were born in the Ukraine in 1884 and were educated in the public schools from 1893 to 1898; is that correct?

Mr. PROCHIK. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. You fought with the Russian Army in the First World War, in 1917?

Mr. PROCHIK. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Then after the revolution, you fought with the Ukrainian Army for freedom from the Bolsheviks, did you?

Mr. PROCHIK. I was in the Army, in the Ukrainian Army, fighting against the Bolsheviks in 1922.

Mr. McTIGUE. And then what happened to you after 1922?

Mr. PROCHIK. After 1922, as a result of serving in the Ukrainian Army, which fought against the Bolshevik oppressor of Ukraine, I had to change my name continuously, because the Bolsheviks were looking for everybody who served in that army in order to liquidate them.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is it true, then, that you were moving from town to town, and you worked as a laborer, doing anything possible to keep yourself alive?

Mr. PROCHIK. Yes.

It was not only that, but it was very uncertain. At times I would be able to keep my name 1 week. Other times it was possible to hold another name for 2 weeks. Some other times I went for a period of

6 months or a year, or as long as 4 years. But I continually had to change my name to keep one step ahead of the Bolshevik regime.

Mr. McTIGUE. Can you tell me now whether there was a famine in the Ukraine in 1922?

Mr. PROCHIK. That is correct. The first large famine in the Ukraine was in 1921 and 1922. This was also followed by the genocide or manmade famine in 1932 and 1933.

Mr. McTIGUE. Was that first famine manmade, the same as the famine in 1933?

Mr. PROCHIK. The starvation in 1921 and 1922 was the result of the Bolshevik army confiscating all of the food from the populace. So, I would say that it was also a manmade famine.

The first thing that the Bolshevik armies did in the village in which I was during that time was to form special units of troops to go among the countryside and forcibly take any food or clothing from the populace. As a result of this, many Ukrainians died of starvation and exposure to the elements.

Also, in addition to the confiscation of the food by the Russian Army, this food, by the way, was sent back to Moscow.

The climate at that time of the year was also very dry. And it increased the hardship under which the people had to exist.

Mr. McTIGUE. How long did this famine last?

Mr. PROCHIK. One year.

Mr. McTIGUE. It was over in 1923; is that correct?

Mr. PROCHIK. It lasted from the end of 1921 to the end of the year 1922.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now, you told us about the famine of 1922. Were you in the Ukraine during the tragic and terrible famine of 1932 and 1933?

Mr. PROCHIK. Yes. I was.

Mr. McTIGUE. Can you tell the committee something about that, please?

I have reference to the famine of 1932 and 1933.

Mr. PROCHIK. The starvation began in 1932. And one of the first acts of the Russian Bolshevik government was to forbid the possession of even a beet among the populace. That is to say, a Ukrainian was not allowed to have in his home a beet or a potato or a piece of bread. That, in my opinion, is the beginning of the manmade starvation in Ukraine in 1932.

Also, in the villages there were various welfare funds which the kolhoze had.

Now, so that these funds were not used to feed any people who may be starving, the Russian Government issued a directive requesting or compelling the village to send every bit of wealth which they had to Moscow.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were the crops good in that year? Were they up to standard?

Mr. PROCHIK. In 1932, the agricultural weather and soil was in the best.

Mr. McTIGUE. The crops were good that year in the Ukraine? Under ordinary circumstances, there would have been plenty?

Mr. PROCHIK. That is correct. They would have had more than enough.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Enough for export, as was their usual custom; is that correct?

Mr. PROCHIK. That is correct.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Previous to that they had always been an exporting country, particularly exporters of grain, having been known as the breadbasket of Europe?

Mr. PROCHIK. Yes. Before that, they were able to export very much grain all over the world.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now, in the village or community in which you were living, did many people die from starvation as a consequence of this famine?

Mr. PROCHIK. At that time I was in the Donbas area. And while I was in the Donbas area, I came across many villages where at one time of the year there were 3,000 people. When I came there during the time of the starvation, there were only 30 or 40 people left.

And there were also villages where there were no survivors at all.

Mr. McTIGUE. What were you doing, Professor? Were you traveling around these villages for some reason or other?

Mr. PROCHIK. At that time I was in the Donbas area because I was employed on the railroad hauling coal. And in 1933, I left the Donbas area to go to the town of Uman.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you have great difficulty in the famine yourself, Professor?

Mr. PROCHIK. As a result of this famine, I was in such poor condition that I could not move around. And it was only through a man who had come down to this town of Uman from Moscow who gave me bread to eat that I found my energy increased and was able to move around.

Mr. McTIGUE. What were the people in the Ukraine at that time and the people you saw who were experiencing the famine doing in an effort to keep alive?

Mr. PROCHIK. The people, upon hearing that all of the bread and other foodstuffs were to be confiscated by the Bolsheviks, or the Bolshevik government, began to hide and conceal any food that they had.

They went so far as to bury pieces of bread in the basements or in the fields where they worked or in the forests. And they even hid flour by mixing it with water.

One of the means of surviving this famine which had widespread use was the use of a cloth sack in which they would pack flour in the bottom. This flour they would cover with a film of water. And at night, the flour at the top of the sack underneath the water would be solid enough to almost make a type of dough. Because it was forbidden to have any food the people had to get a pan, and under that pan they would put hot coals in some concealed place and would fry a little bit of this flour which was mixed with water that had thickened. And they would eat this in order to survive.

Mr. McTIGUE. After all this available food which had been concealed through various means and methods had been used up, what did the people do then?

Mr. PROCHIK. The first thing that the people ate after they had run out of this concealed flour and wheat and other foodstuffs was to keep their eyes open for the closest dog or cat. And they would cut up the cat and eat it raw.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you see them doing this?

Mr. PROCHIK. Yes, I saw it with my very own eyes.

Mr. McTIGUE. People eating the dogs and the cats?

Mr. PROCHIK. Yes, sir.

And if the committee requests, I can give specific examples of what I saw in many of the villages.

Mr. McTIGUE. Yes, I think the committee, Mr. Chairman, may be interested in having some illustrations.

Mr. PROCHIK. In the village of Zhzetovka—to this town the Communists sent a deputy commissioner by the name of Chubar—

Mr. McTIGUE. You were going to give us two or three illustrations of what the people were doing after they had used up all of the available food.

Mr. PROCHIK. And this deputy commissioner came to a villager's home. And in this home the woman of the house was cooking something in the pot, while her husband was lying on the floor dying from starvation.

Chubar asked the woman what she was cooking in the pot, and she answered to him that she was cooking a cat.

After they ate the cats, they ate the dogs. And after they had run out of cats and dogs and mice and any other animals to eat, they started to eat the people themselves who had died of starvation. It got to be so bad that while many of us villagers would walk along the road, we would see many people who had died along the road. And it was not uncommon to see somebody walk up to one of these dead people and cut off an arm or leg and put it in a sack and take it home so that they would have something to eat.

And the famine got to be so bad that in the town of Polianetska an 8-year-old girl went to visit her grandmother and her grandmother, insane from this hunger, butchered and ate this girl.

Mr. McTIGUE. How long did this terrible famine that you have been describing last?

Mr. PROCHIK. This famine lasted through the end of 1933.

Mr. McTIGUE. How long did you stay in the Ukraine, Professor?

Mr. PROCHIK. I stayed in the Ukraine until the invasion by the German Army.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you there after taken to Germany by the Nazis as a forced laborer.

Mr. PROCHIK. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. And when did you eventually emigrate to the United States, Professor?

Mr. PROCHIK. In 1952, February 12.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you admitted to this country under the Displaced Persons Act of 1938?

Mr. PROCHIK. That is correct.

Mr. McTIGUE. I have no further questions.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Feighan?

Mr. FEIGHAN. Professor, you mentioned a town of 3,000 people in which there were only about 30 or 40 survivors, the rest having died of starvation, and you also mentioned the fact that there were other communities in which there were no survivors.

Mr. PROCHIK. That is correct.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Did you have any opportunity to make an estimate of the total number of persons who may have died of the starvation?

Mr. PROCHIK. It is very difficult for me to give you a close estimate, because the Communist government had all these statistics and records and did not publicize any. But, as an estimate, I would say that from seven to eight million people died as a result of this manmade famine.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Professor, during this period of starvation, large grain crops were harvested. Had you seen any of this grain in storage anywhere?

Mr. PROCHIK. Yes. I saw it stored.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Where was it stored?

Mr. PROCHIK. Near the town of Uman they had a large government warehouse, to which it was compulsory that all the grain be brought in and deposited at this government warehouse.

Also near this town they had large government poultry farms. The poultry on this farm was being fed the grain and even the bread which was denied to these people. And after the poultry was made good enough for export, it would be exported to finance further the Communist government.

Also near this same town, there was a small creek into which the people would throw the people who had been found along the roads that had died of starvation. These people would be thrown into the river. And it was not uncommon to see a person who was only weak lying along the road who would be picked up and thrown in the creek while yet alive among the dead bodies of people who had died in this famine.

Mr. FEIGHAN. They would be picked up and thrown into the river by the Russian Communists? Or by whom?

Mr. PROCHIK. The government secret police would collect the bodies of these people who were dead, and, during the night, they would send out horses and wagons to collect these bodies so that they would be cleared off of the road.

Mr. FEIGHAN. But the government was controlled and operated by either Russian Communists or Communists appointed by the Kremlin; is that not correct?

Mr. PROCHIK. That is correct.

In fact, in my estimation, only 1 in 1,500 of the Communist officials would be of a non-Communist background.

Mr. FEIGHAN. You mean by that non-Russian also?

Mr. PROCHIK. That is right.

I also saw some orphanages where children whose parents had died in the famine were taken. It was very common to see the Communists taking out sacks full of children out of this orphanage to be buried somewhere along the road.

Mr. FEIGHAN. They were taken from the orphanage because they had died of starvation; is that correct?

Mr. PROCHIK. That is correct.

Mr. FEIGHAN. From your own testimony, you have stated that the grain crop was at least normal in the Ukraine, in the year 1932-33?

Mr. PROCHIK. That is right.

Mr. FEIGHAN. That the Russian Communists entered the peoples' homes and took their food?

Mr. PROCHIK. That is correct.

Mr. FEIGHAN. That they confiscated all the grain?

Mr. PROCHIK. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. And the people were starving there?

Mr. PROCHIK. That is right.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Well, it is an inescapable conclusion, then, that the famine was not caused by nature, but rather by the machinations of men, the men of the Kremlin, through their administrative officials, their henchmen and lackeys?

Mr. PROCHIK. That is correct.

I would like to add that in Moscow there was no starvation; only in Ukraine and the Caucasus.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Just one further question, Professor.

In your analysis of this situation, having been an eyewitness, do you believe that the basic reason for this manmade famine was to break the national spirit of the Ukrainian people who resisted the tyranny of Moscow?

Mr. PROCHIK. Yes, yes, that is right.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Would you say that another reason, whether minor or not, was that the Ukrainians would not join the collective farms?

Mr. PROCHIK. That is also right.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you very much, Professor.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Feighan, I think it might be well, also, at this particular point in the testimony, to bring out the fact that in Europe this summer we had several witnesses appear before the committee whose testimony will substantiate the testimony of this witness here today.

I have just one question.

Did you have knowledge of the mission that was sent to the Ukraine in 1933, under Premier Edouard Herriot of France, to make a supposed investigation of conditions, but which was not permitted to see the real conditions which existed?

Mr. PROCHIK. I heard of the mission. But also I know that Herriot undoubtedly came to Kiev. And once he arrived in Kiev, the Communist government would only allow him to see what they wanted him to see.

Mr. BUSBEY. Well, that was the testimony we received from an eyewitness who was with him.

Thank you very much, Professor, for your testimony.

Mr. McTIGUE. Father Bykowetz is the next witness.

TESTIMONY OF FATHER ALEXANDER BYKOWETZ

Mr. BUSBEY. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give the committee will be the truth, so help you God?

Father BYKOWETZ. I do.

Mr. McTIGUE. Your name is Father Alexander Bykowetz?

Father BYKOWETZ. That is correct; yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you are a priest of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church?

Father BYKOWETZ. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is that church in Detroit?

Father BYKOWETZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. And you are assigned to what parish in Detroit of the Orthodox Church?

Father BYKOWETZ. St. Andrews Church.

Mr. McTIGUE. Where were you born?

Father BYKOWETZ. I was born in Ukraine on December 29, 1924, in a place called Veleka Bahachka. It is 80 kilometers from Poltava.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you educated in the Ukraine? And are you also ordained in the Ukraine?

Father BYKOWETZ. I graduated from the public school which in Soviet Ukraine you are supposed to attend 10 years to this school. That is public school.

And after that, during the war I had no chance to attend to the school, because all the schools were closed.

I started in Ukraine after the German invasion, and then continued in Germany, my self-education under the supervision of other priests.

Mr. McTIGUE. While you were in Germany?

Father BYKOWETZ. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. After the war?

Father BYKOWETZ. Yes, after the American liberation for us—the people who were in Nazi slave camps.

Mr. McTIGUE. When did you emigrate to the United States, Father?

Father BYKOWETZ. In June 1949.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you come here under the Displaced Persons Act of 1949?

Father BYKOWETZ. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. You testified here that you were born in the Ukraine in 1924, and you lived in the Ukraine for a number of years under Communist domination; is that correct?

Father BYKOWETZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. Was your father also a priest in the Orthodox Church?

Father BYKOWETZ. He was a missionary priest of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did there come a time when your father was arrested by the NKVD?

Father BYKOWETZ. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. When was that?

Father BYKOWETZ. He was arrested October 9, 1937.

Mr. McTIGUE. Why?

Father BYKOWETZ. Because he was a priest. And the Russian Bolsheviks were antireligious. And they banished my father, as well as other priests of the Ukrainian Church and other denominations, including the Roman Catholic Church and the Jews too. And many times during his work as a missionary priest from 1922 until this last day of 1937, he was arrested many times by the NKVD agents and was imprisoned for 2 or 3 months.

And they gave him a chance to go free and continue his work. And after a couple of months they took him again. And so I remember many times that me and my mother prayed in other churches for his liberation.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you ever hear from your father after he was arrested in 1937 the last time?

Father BYKOWETZ. No; I did not.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did your mother or you try to see your father, or make contact or make communication with him?

Father BYKOWETZ. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Were you ever successful?

Father BYKOWETZ. No. The officers told us not to be very interested in his case, because the same thing might happen to us. And the last answer that we received from the Poltava Prison was that my father is out of this prison in Poltava and is sent somewhere. And they did not say where. And so we suspect maybe he was sent to Siberia, having no right to write the Ukraine or maybe he was killed in Poltava.

Mr. McTIGUE. Did you and your mother bring your father certain things from time to time while he was in prison before his last arrest, such as cigarettes or eyeglasses, or something on that order?

Father BYKOWETZ. Yes. In 1937 there was a special campaign against so-called enemies of the people. And in that time under Poltava Prison there are several hundred people waiting to give something to their relatives in this prison. And the people are allowed just once in 2 weeks to give some belongings like cigarettes or clothes or something like that.

And when we passed those things to my father, he gave us a small letter, a very small letter, just in few words, that he receive such and such things.

And one time we receive his glasses fully destroyed—the glasses and the frame too.

And the next morning we came back again with my mother to pass these glasses, because he cannot see nothing without glasses. And the NKVD agent told us to come back in 2 weeks. And we asked him to pass right now, but he told us to get out of there because there are waiting many other people to pass some things to their own relatives.

And I never forget this October in the early morning, at 3 a. m., the agents of the NKVD came to our house and asked whether my father is at home. For many years he was awaiting such visitors, because many of his good friends, priests, were banished in 1928 and in the following few years.

And, so, they make this search in the house and put me and my mother in one corner of the room, and my father was in the other corner. And we cannot make one step to each other. And in the middle of the room was standing the agent of the NKVD. And we cannot even pass word to each other.

Mr. McTIGUE. You were in one corner and your mother was in another?

Father BYKOWETZ. No. My mother and I were in the one corner and my father was in the other corner.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is this the time the NKVD was questioning your father?

Father BYKOWETZ. Questioning and making search of the house and searching my father, pockets and everything. And they pick up something of these old personal documents of my father's, and all of his letters, many of them, the pictures of the churches, of the Ukrainian churches, and also the pictures of Ukrainian bishops and archbishops.

And my father's and mother's diary and some examples of sermons for Ukrainian church that my father was making by himself they also took.

And after search was finished, this NKVD agent in charge called Brukhovetsky told us to come to father and say goodby, because we temporarily will be separated, he said.

And so I came to my father, and he was rested quiet. But I saw his eyes were very full of tears. And he blessed me and kissed me and my mother, and saying nothing, no words. And he left. And behind him left those three NKVD agents. And it was forbidden for us to follow him, even to the outside door of the house.

And, after that, after couple of hours of crying, together with my mother, I went to school. And in school I meet many boys who were crying too, because, in the same night, the NKVD took 25 men in this town.

Also the other priests of the other church, the other Ukrainian church in this town, they took them away.

And when I came back from this school, I found that my mother was not at home too. And I waited for her until 10 o'clock in the night, and then 11 o'clock, and until midnight. And she was not home. And so I was afraid. And I went to the next door house, and I ask what is about my mother. And the lady next door told me that after I was leaving to go to school the NKVD agent came back and took my mother too.

And, so, all this night I was crying. And just about 6 or 7 o'clock in the morning, my mother came home, because she fled from that prison which was 20 kilometers from our home—

Mr. McTIGUE. You mean she managed to escape?

Father BYKOWETZ. She explained it to me this way: that they compelled her to bring one book that they forget during this search. And after they just leave the house my mother put this book in the stove. It was a book of Ukrainian poetry and Ukrainian fine art. And there are many patriotic poems and songs. And so they are very interested in this book.

And they forget it. And my mother put it in this stove. So, they came to take this book. So, there was no book. So they took my mother.

And in the night when this guard was changing, the other policeman came and said "O. K., you go home and bring that book." My mother said, "I have no book. I will stay here."

"No. You come and bring the book."

So, my mother understand that maybe this man was giving her a chance to run away. And so she left the prison, and wanted not to wait for morning when she can go home by train. But she went on foot 20 kilometers and get me and some necessary clothes, and she took me to my uncle, her brother, on the other side of Poltava. That is in my home place. It is the Valeka Bahachka, as I mentioned before.

And after that my mother went to Siberia, far from Ukraine to get the job. Because during all this period that my father was in Poltava Prison, she cannot get any job because she was the wife of a priest. One of her faults was that she was the wife of a priest. And the other fault was that she was the wife of a convict.

And so she cannot get even a cleaning job in Poltava. And so she fled to Siberia where nobody knows her. And she worked there as a typist, as a cleaning woman, and many other things. And there she changed—not the name and place—but just this paragraph where what was written what profession or occupation she have.

Mr. McTIGUE. You stayed with your uncle?

Father BYKOWETZ. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. Then you stayed with your uncle until——

Father BYKOWETZ. Until my mother came back from Siberia and came to Don Basin.

And then she told me to come to her, because she has good papers now. And she worked over there. And I came to her and continued my school in this place called Stalino, a former Juzovka.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is your mother still living in the Ukraine?

Father BYKOWETZ. No. My mother was with me when we fled to Germany—when the Red army started to come back to the Ukraine during the second war. And she was with me in Germany. We worked in monastery, on a farm in Germany. And then we stayed together in the DP camps. And she emigrates to the United States in end of May of 1949, 3 months before me.

Mr. McTIGUE. Is she living in Detroit now?

Father BYKOWETZ. No. She is living in Willimantic, Conn.

Mr. McTIGUE. That was your first parish on arriving in the United States?

Father BYKOWETZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. Now, have you or your mother ever heard any news of your father following his last arrest in 1937?

Father BYKOWETZ. No, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. I have no further questions.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Feighan?

Mr. FEIGHAN. Father, from the experiences of your own father and mother, I take it that as far as the Communists are concerned, it is a much greater offense against the state to be a wife of a man of religion, the wife of a man who preaches belief in and love of God and country, respect for one's fellow man, respect for the dignity of the individual, respect for the sanctity of the home and the family, than it is to be an ordinary criminal who is guilty of homicide and murder and all of the other vicious crimes that might be conceivable? Is that not correct?

Father BYKOWETZ. Yes, it is.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you.

Father BYKOWETZ. I saw many criminals and many crooks on the streets near the movie houses. And they still worked, as you know, as crooks work. And the police did not do anything about these things.

Mr. FEIGHAN. In other words, anyone who stands for morality is an enemy of the state?

Father BYKOWETZ. Yes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. BUSBEY. Father, I was reading in today's New York Times an article concerning the Ukraine—on the capital, Kiev, and the Orthodox churches.

The article is headed "Twenty of Kiev's Orthodox Churches Are Found Open for Worship."

It is by Clifton Daniels, in a special to the New York Times from Kiev, U. S. S. R., October 1.

Do you think there are 20 Orthodox churches open in Kiev today?

Father BYKOWETZ. In case there are, that is too few for the capital of Ukraine. And those pictures of the churches are not of Ukraine Church but of Russian Orthodox church.

Is it usual to have, for example, in Germany all French churches and no German churches?

Mr. McTIGUE. What you are saying is that the portrait or the picture in the New York Times of October 19 is——

Mr. BUSBEY. Well, the article was written on October 1 in Kiev.

Mr. McTIGUE. Yes. But you are saying that the picture is not what it purports to be; the picture shown is a Russian Orthodox church and not Ukrainian?

Father BYKOWETZ. Yes. In the third largest city of the Soviet Union which has a population of more than a million there are only 20 Russian Orthodox churches open for worship. But none of these 20 is for Ukrainian people.

And this picture to my right hand was—the caption on it is “The St. Vladimir Cathedral in Kiev in Nineteenth Century.” That is not correct. I am perfectly sure it is St. Andrews Cathedral, but not St. Vladimir.

Mr. BUSBEY. Well, they probably changed the name.

Father BYKOWETZ. There is another cathedral, St. Vladimir Cathedral, in Kiev. And it is supposed not to change.

Mr. BUSBEY. Even if these were Russian Orthodox do you think it possible that 20 Russian Orthodox churches would be open in Kiev?

Father BYKOWETZ. That is hard to believe.

You see, I saw with my own eyes that they dynamited churches; especially in Poltava I see them blow up the old cathedral and six other churches and Jewish synagogues and Roman Catholic church, and Evangelical Lutheran church too. And the monastery on the hill.

Mr. BUSBEY. Thank you very much, Father.

This will conclude our hearings in Chicago. The next hearing will be held Thursday morning at 10 a. m. in the Federal Building in Milwaukee, Wis. Congressman Charles Kersten, the chairman of the full committee, will preside at the hearings on Thursday.

The committee will continue to receive written statements, particularly from the witnesses whom we did not have a chance to hear during the hearings yesterday and today.